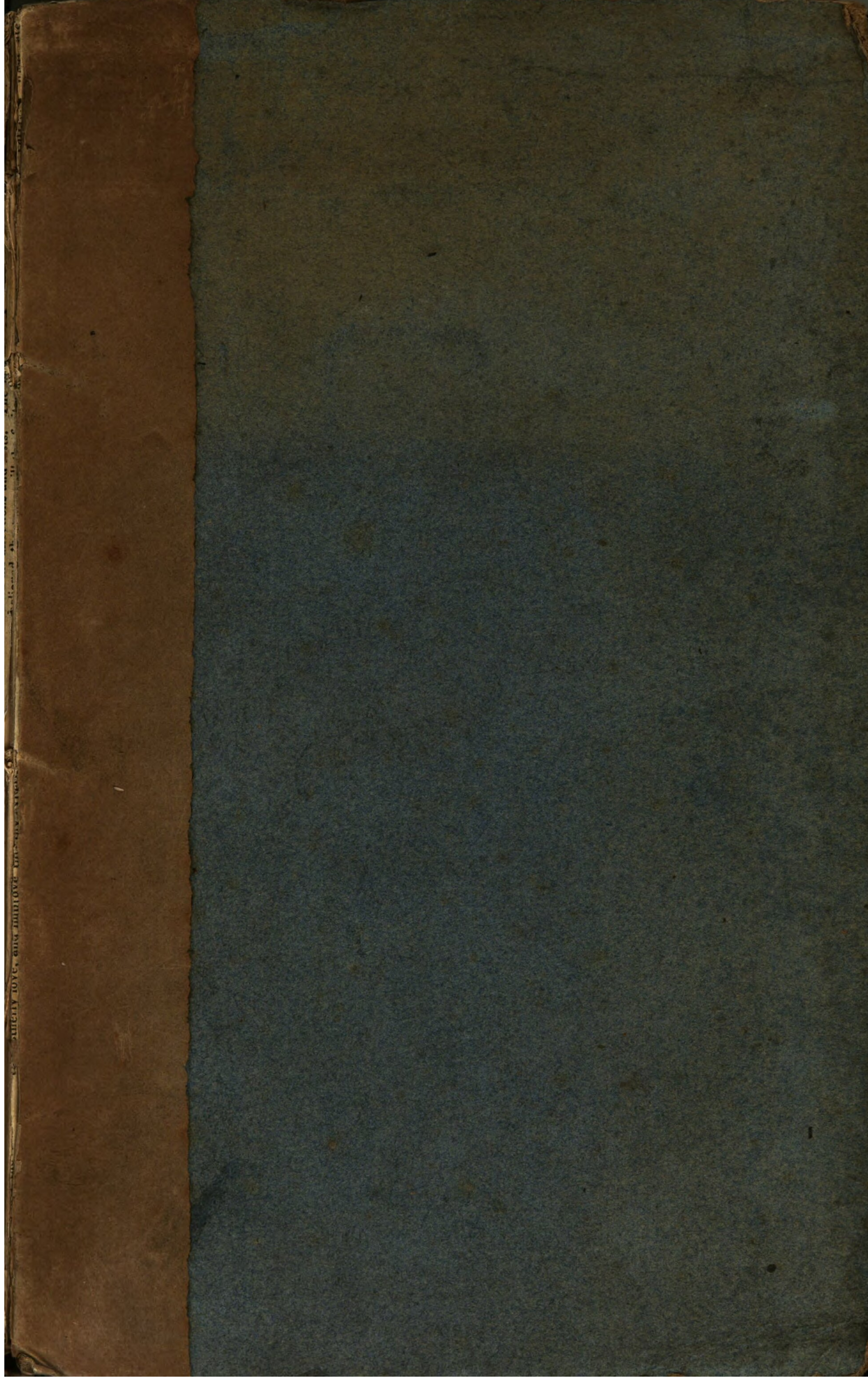




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HORÆ BIBLICÆ;

BEING A CONNECTED

SERIES OF NOTES

ON THE

TEXT AND LITERARY HISTORY OF THE BIBLES,

OR

SACRED BOOKS OF THE JEWS AND CHRISTIANS;

AND ON

THE BIBLES, OR BOOKS ACCOUNTED SACRED BY THE
MAHOMETANS, HINDUS, PARSEES, CHINESE,
AND SCANDINAVIANS.

VOLUME THE SECOND,

CONTAINING

A CONNECTED SERIES OF NOTES ON THE KORAN,
ZEND-AVESTA, VEDAS, KINGS AND EDDA.

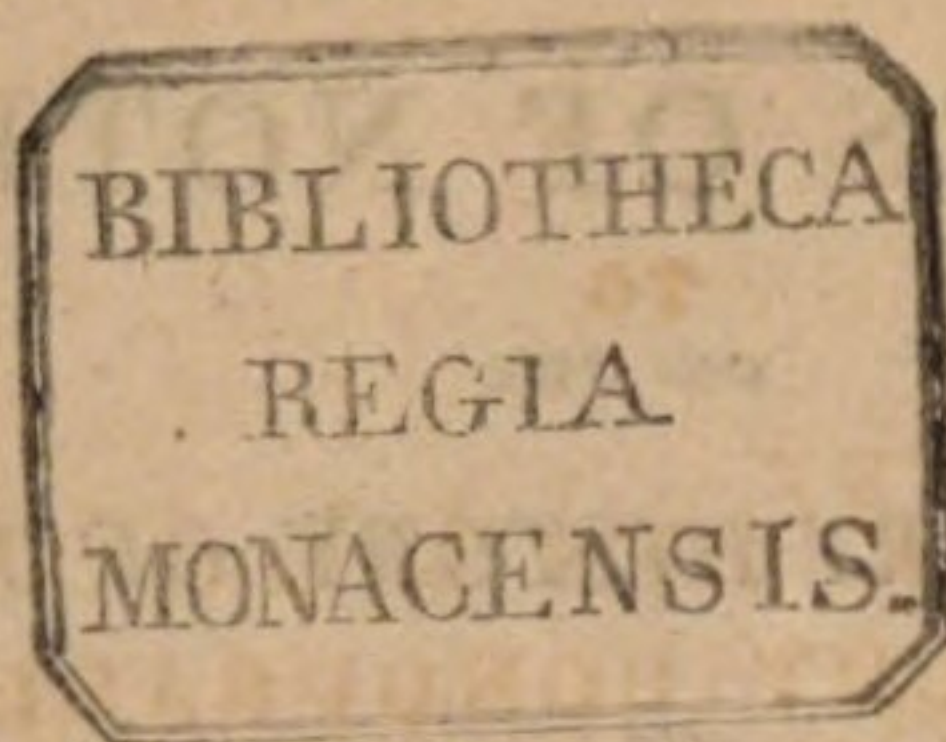
THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. WHITE, FLEET STREET,

BY T. BENSLEY, BOLT COURT.

1807.



Quare quis tandem me reprehendat, si quantum cæteris ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporis: quantum alii tempestivis conviviis, quantum aleæ, quantum pilæ, tantum mihi egomet, ad hæc studia recolenda, sumpsero.

CIC. PRO ARCHIA.

Le changement d'etude est toujours un delassement pour moi.

D'AGUESSEAU.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR WILLIAM SCOTT, KNIGHT,

JUDGE OF HIS MAJESTY'S HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY,

THIS ESSAY

IS INSCRIBED,

BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

CHARLES BUTLER.

Lincoln's-Inn.

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HORÆ BIBLICÆ,

PART THE FIRST;

Being a connected Series of Notes on the TEXT and LITERARY HISTORY of the BIBLES, or SACRED BOOKS of the JEWS and CHRISTIANS.

FOURTH EDITION.

HORÆ JURIDICÆ SUBSECIVÆ;

Being a connected Series of Notes, respecting the GEOGRAPHY, CHRONOLOGY, and LITERARY HISTORY of the principal Codes, and original Documents of the GRECIAN, ROMAN, FEUDAL and CANON LAW.

SECOND EDITION.

Also by the same Author,

A CONNECTED SERIES OF NOTES

On the chief Revolutions of the principal States,

Which composed the

EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE,

From his Coronation in 814, to its Dissolution in 1806:

On the

Genealogies of the Imperial House of Habsburgh,

And the

Six Secular Electors of Germany;

And on Roman, German, French and English Nobility.

HORÆ BIBLICÆ.

WITH a view to impress on the memory, the result of some miscellaneous reading on different subjects, relating to THE KORAN, THE ZEND-AVESTA, THE VEDAS, THE KINGS, AND THE EDDA,—the books accounted sacred by the Mahometans, the Parsees, the Hindûs, the Chinese, and the Scandinavian descendants of the Scythians,—the following notes were committed to paper.

I. They begin with the Mahometans,—and offer a short view of the antient history of the countries conquered by Mahomet and his first disciples, and the actual state of them, at that period. Under this head will be given some account of the antient history, 1st, of Syria; 2dly, of Persia; and

3dly, of Africa; connecting the æras, mentioned in the account of Syria, with the rise and fall of Nineve, Babylon, Rome, and Constantinople, to which Syria was successively subject; and the æras, mentioned in the account] of Persia, with the leading events of Greece and Rome, antecedent to the same period; and in the account of Africa, shortly pointing out the principal occurrences in the history of that country, before its invasion by the disciples of Mahomet: II. Some mention will then be made of the events which facilitated the conquest of the east by the religion and arms of Mahomet; these are, 1st, the political weakness of the western and eastern empires; and 2dly, the religious disputes among the christians of the east: III. Some account will then be given of the rise and first progress of the Mahometan religion; containing a view, 1st, of the Geography, 2dly, of the Early History of Arabia; 3dly, of the Hegira and the mode of computing it; and

4thly, of the extent of the conquests made by Mahomet and his immediate successors: IV. Mention will then be made of the principal Mahometan states; containing an account of the dynasties and fortunes,—1st, of the Universal Caliphs; 2dly, of the Sultans and Sophis of Persia; 3dly, of the Sultans and Mamlouc Governors of Egypt; 4thly, of the Caliphs and Sheriffs of Morocco, and the States of Barbary; 5thly, of the Caliphs of Spain; 6thly, of the Mahometan Princes, who have reigned in Hindustan; and 7thly, of the Ottoman Emperors: V. The irruptions of the Mogul Tartars under Gengiskhan and Timour into the Asiatic territories, conquered by the disciples of Mahomet, will then be mentioned: VI. Notice will then be taken of some of the principal attempts of the princes of Christendom to repel the Mahometans; under this head mention will be made, 1st, of the Crusades; 2dly, of the military orders established for the defence of Christendom

against the Mahometans; and 3dly, of the most important victories which have been gained by the Christians over the Mahometans since the crusades: VII. A view will then be given of the religious tenets and literary history of the Mahometans; comprising an account, 1st, of the creed, opinions, and rites of the followers of Mahomet; 2dly, of the Koran; 3dly, of the Sects of the Mahometans; 4thly, of the Turkish Language; and 5thly, of Turkish Literature: VIII. A short view will then be offered of the actual extent and state of the countries where the Mahometan Religion is professed: IX. Mention will then be made of the principal authors, from whose writings the account of the Koran has been compiled: X. An article will follow, comprising some account of the Zend-Avesta, the Vedas, the Kings and the Edda.

In perusing these sheets, the reader will derive much assistance from a Map, published by Mr. Wilkinson, with the title,

“ Eslam, or the Countries, which have professed the Faith of Mahomet.”

I.

WITH respect to the ANTIEN HISTORY OF THE COUNTRIES, WHERE THE RELIGION AND EMPIRE OF MAHOMET TOOK THEIR RISE:

I. 1. The modern word, answering to the country called *Syria*, is Barr-el-sham, or the country to the left, with a reference to Mecca. It is bounded by the Mediterranean on the west, by the Euphrates on the east, and from north to south it fills the space between Cilicia and Mount Amanus, to a line which may be supposed to be drawn from Gaza to the desert. A chain of mountains runs through it from north to south, with many ramifications: its most elevated point is the Lebanon. Under the Roman Empire it was divided into four parts, Commagène, Seleucis, or the Syria Propria, Cœle-Syria, or the hollow Syria,

from its being inclosed between the Lebanon and the Antilebanon, a mountain that runs parallel with it, and Phœnicia. Coele-Syria contains Damascus, and the ruins of Palmyra; Palestina was added to Syria in later times.

The scripture informs us that Achaz, ^{Before Christ.} the king of Judah, being powerfully attacked by Razin the king of Syria, and by Phaceas, son of Romelias, the king of Israel, invited Theglathphalar, the king of Assyria or Nineve, to his assistance, and that he possessed himself of the greatest part of Syria. 742

His son Salmanazar conquered Judæa, and carried the ten tribes into captivity to Nineve. Major Rennell, (*Geography of Herodotus, section 15*), has produced strong arguments to prove, that they were afterwards distributed in Media. 721

The Chaldæans or Babylonians, under Asaraddon, who was the grand-

son of Salmanazar, and who united in Before
Christ.
him the empires of Babylon and Ni-
neve, completed the conquest of Sy-
ria, and sent the Cuthites, a people
of Assyria, to inhabit that part of
Palestine called Samaria; from it they
took the name of Samaritans. . . . 677

Syria was conquered by Cyrus. . . 540

It continued part of the Persian
empire, till its overthrow by Alexan-
der the Great. 330

On his decease, it fell to Seleucus
Nicator, the most powerful of his suc-
cessors. From him, a long line of
sovereigns of Syria, called the Seleu-
cidæ, proceeded: it ended in Antio-
chus Asiaticus. He maintained an
unsuccessful war with Lucullus, and
was totally conquered by Pompey.

The kingdom of Syria, was part of
the conquest, and thereupon made a
Roman province. 63

On the division of the Empire be-^{After}
 tween the sons of Theodosius, it was^{Christ.}
 annexed to the Empire of Constanti-
 nople. 395

It was the first of the conquests of
 the companions of Mahomet: they
 began the conquest of it in 632, and
 completed it in ten years. 632

It is to be observed, that, in the vocabu-
 lary of the Jews, the word *Aram* denoted all
 the country on the north of Palestine to
 Cappadocia, on the south, to the confines of
 Egypt and the Red Sea, and on the east,
 to the confines of Media and Persia; some
 have thought that, in the notions of the
 Jews, it included Assyria and stretched be-
 yond the Tigris. The word *Elam* denoted
 Persia and the countries further to the east.

1. 2. Of the antient kingdoms of the east,
 the history of none is more important than
the Persian.

“The Persian empire in general,” says
 Sir William Ousely, “is properly called

“ Iran. The word Persia is derived from
 “ Pars, the name of a province the most
 “ respectable, as being the usual residence
 “ of the kings. The name in modern com-
 “ positions, is most commonly written Fars
 “ after the Arabian manner.” It is called
Ariana in the Greek, *Eriene* in the Zend
 language. It lay north and south between
 Media and the Persian gulph, and between
 the Tigris to the west, and the Arianan
 countries to the east. There are few coun-
 tries, of the geography of which our infor-
 mation is less accurate. Sir William Ousely’s
 promised map of it, is expected by the
 literary world with great impatience.

It is supposed to have been found-
 ed by Caiumarus, probably the king Before
Christ.
 of Elam, mentioned in the Scripture. 890
 His grandson, by his justice and ex-
 cellent laws, obtained the name of
 Pishdad or the legislator: from him,
 this dynasty acquired the appellation
 of Pishdâdians; it ended about, . . 633

This period nearly corresponds with Before
Christ. that in the history of the Jews, which begins with the reign of Josaphat, in Judah, and with the first enterprizes of Nebuchodonosor against Jerusalem. About the beginning of it, Homer and Hesiod flourished, the Empire of Nineve was founded; the ages, which Varro termed fabulous, expired; and towards the end of it, the empire of Rome, began.

The Pishdâdian dynasty was succeeded by the Caianian family, in . 600

It began with Cai-Caus, from whom it takes its name; he is called by our writers, Darius the Mede; his son Cai Khosru, is our Cyrus. The territory, known at that time, by the name of Persia, filled the space between Media, the Persic gulph, Susiania, and Caramania. Cyrus subdued the kingdoms of Nineve and Media, and almost all Asia Minor.

These, with Persia, formed what is Before
Christ.
called in antient history, the Persian
empire: it extended from the Helle-
spont to the Indus; and its northern
limits were the Euxine, Caspian, and
Aral seas. 568

The Caianian family ended with
the battle of Arbela, when Dara or
Darius the younger was conquered
by Alexander the Great, and the mo-
narchy of the Caianians was trans-
ferred to the Greeks. 330

This period includes the Babylonish
captivity, the return of the Jews under
Cyrus, the decree of Artaxerxes, per-
mitting the Jews to rebuild the tem-
ple, the confirmation of their rights
by Alexander the great; the battles
of Marathon and Plataea, the Pello-
ponnesian war, the conquests of Alex-
ander the great, the history of Rome
from its beginning to the expulsion of
the Tarquins.

After this, a race of Persian monarchs, called Ashcanians from Ashac the founder of the race, is supposed to have reigned in the eastern parts of Persia, till about a century after the birth of Christ.

Before
Christ.

To this period must be referred, the unfortunate disputes among the Jews respecting the priesthood, the achievements of the Asmonæans, the intercourse of the Jews with their Asiatic and African neighbours, the version of the seventy, the subjection of the Jews to the Romans and the Idumæan sovereigns appointed by them; the division of Alexander's empire among his principal generals, their wars with the Greeks, the first and second Punic war, the conquests of the Romans; Marius, Sylla, Pompey, and Cæsar.

During this period, Persia lost much of its territory, the Romans conquered from them the country on the

After
Christ.

west of the Taurus, and the Parthians After
Christ.
drove them from Upper Asia.

The Sassanian dynasty succeeded the Ashcanian. It commenced, about the beginning of the 3d century, by the revolt of Ardeshir Babegan, our Artaxerxes, the son of Sassan, a man in a low situation of life, but of royal extraction: from Sassan, the dynasty had its appellation. The princes of it reigned in Persia till the Mahometan invasion; and speaking generally, the boundaries of Persia, were, during that dynasty, nearly the same as they are at present. 202

Under Shapor, Mani broached his errors, and thereby sowed the seed of the Manichæan heresy.

Its principal object was to reconcile, generally, with the tenets of the Christian religion, the belief that the world and its phænomena, proceeded from two eternal and necessary causes;

one essentially good, the other essen- ^{After}
tially evil. ^{Christ.} 242

Nushirvan the great, known in Eu-
rope by the name of Cosroes, the last
of this dynasty, began his reign, in . 530

During his reign Mahomet was
born. 569

I. 3. *Africa*, another of the earliest con-
quests of the Mahometans, lies between
the 18th degree of west, and the 50th de-
gree of east longitude, and reaches from
the 35th degree of south to the 37th de-
gree of north latitude: it is bounded on
the north by the Mediterranean, on the
west by the Atlantic, on the south by the
southern ocean, on the east by the Red sea
and the Indian ocean.

The Romans divided it, exclusively of
Egypt, into the Cyrenaica, including Mar-
marica now Barca; the regia Syrtica, or
the country between the two Syrtes, now
Tripoly; Africa Propria, the Territory of
the Carthaginians, now Tunis; Numidia,

now Algiers ; and Mauritania, now Morocco and Fez ; under the names of Libya and south Æthiopia, they comprised its central parts.

It has afforded fewer materials for ^{Before Christ.} history than any other of the three continents of the antient world. The exploits of Hercules in its western extremities, and his sailing through the streights of Gibraltar, are almost the only circumstances, which occasion the mention of Africa in the history of the fabulous ages. 1250

The link which connects its fabulous and authentic history is the foundation of Carthage. 868

The history of Carthage may be divided into three periods: during the first, the celebrated circumnavigation of Africa was performed, by Phœnician mariners, employed by Pharaoh Necho. They sailed from the Red

sea, and, in the 3d year of their voy- ^{Before}
 age, passed the columns of Hercules, ^{Christ.}
 and returned to Egypt. 610

To this period Mr. Falconer, (who, on the age of the Periplus of Hanno, has invincibly refuted the contrary opinion of Dodwell), assigns the voyage of Hanno. Major Rennell recognizes, in Hanno's account, the capes Bianco and De Verd, the rivers of Senegal and Gambia, the island of Cernê, the bay of Bissago, answering to Hanno's Western Horn, the mountain of Sangaree, answering to his chariot of the Gods, and Sherbro' Bay, answering to his Southern Horn, where the second voyage terminated. . . . 570

Within the same period, the Baron de St. Croix (*Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions, Tom. 43*), fixes the voyage of Scylax. By the command of Darius Hystaspis, he sailed with a

squadron, from Pactya the modern Before
Christ.
Pehteley: and, in two years and six
months, reached the Arabian gulph. 462

The first period of the history of
Carthage ends with the invasion of
Sicily by the Carthaginians; . . . 480

The second, with the commence-
ment of the conflict between Rome
and Carthage; 264

The third, with the destruction of
Carthage. 146

The next memorable event in the
history of Africa is the Jugurthan
war: 107

The only other occurrence of con-
sequence, in its history, before the
birth of Christ, is the war of Cæsar
in Africa. 45

Genseric, who reigned over the After
Christ.
Vandals in Spain, conquered Africa
from the Romans. 428

It was reconquered by Belisarius,
and from that time continued subject

to the Emperor of the west, till it was invaded by the Saracens.

Such was the Geography, and such were the outlines of the History of the countries we have mentioned at the period under consideration.

II.

WITH respect to THE EVENTS WHICH FACILITATED THE CONQUEST OF THEM BY THE ARMS AND RELIGION OF MAHOMET:

II. 1st. *Both the Western and Eastern Empire were then in their lowest state of political imbecility.*

The Vandals, Suevi and Alani, who After Christ. inhabited the countries bordering on the Baltic, made an irruption into Gaul, about the year 408; and from Gaul advanced into Spain 408

About the year 415, they were driven from Spain by the Visigoths,

and invaded Africa, where they formed
a kingdom After
Christ.
415

Between the year 401 and the year
420, the Franks, Allemanni, and Bur-
gundians penetrated into Gaul. Of
these nations, the Franks became the
most powerful, and, having either
expelled or subdued the others, made
themselves masters of the whole of
those extensive provinces, which from
them, received the name of France . 420

Pannonia and Illyricum were con-
quered by the Huns ; Rhoetia, Nori-
cum and Vindelicia, by the Ostro-
goths ; and these, some time after,
were conquered by the Franks.

In 449, the Saxons invaded Eng-
land. 449

The Herulians marched into Italy,
under the command of their king
Odoacer, and overturned the empire
of the west. 476

From Italy they were expelled by ^{After}
the Ostrogoths. ^{Christ.} 493

About the year 568, the Lombards,
issuing from the mark of Branden-
burgh, invaded the Higher Italy, and
founded an empire, called the king-
dom of the Lombards. 568

After this, little remained in Eu-
rope of the Roman Empire, besides
the middle and inferior Italy. These,
from the time of the emperor Justi-
nian's conquest of Italy, by the arms
of Belisarius and Narses, belonged to
the emperor of the east: he governed
them by an officer called an Exarch,
whose residence was fixed at Ravenna,
and by some subordinate officers,
called Dukes.

In 743, the exarchate of Ravenna,
and all the remaining possessions of
the Emperor in Italy, were conquered
by the Lombards. This, as it was

the final extinction of the Roman ^{After} empire in Europe, was the completion, ^{Christ.} in that quarter of the globe, of those conquests which established the feudal law. 743

The nations, by whom these conquests were made, came, it is evident, from different countries, at different periods, spoke different languages, and were under the command of separate leaders; yet appear to have established, in almost every state which they conquered, nearly the same legislative system. It is known by the appellation of the Feudal Law, and the establishment of it is one of the most memorable events in history.

At the time of Mahomet's appearance, these states were in the utmost confusion. They had completed their conquest over monarchy; but neither the extent of their territories, nor their forms of government were settled; the fury which accompanied them in their conquests was spent, they

had sunk into a state of debility, and no bond of union connected them together.

If the period of the Christian æra were to be mentioned, when there was least of order, least of power, least of science, and least of intercourse in Europe, it would be that century which immediately preceded, and that which immediately followed the commencement of the Hegira.

The eastern empire still contained Greece, Thrace, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Africa, and a part of Italy: but it had been exhausted by a succession of foreign wars and civil dissensions; by repeated ravages of Barbarians, by oppression in the capital, extortion in the provinces, weak councils, lawless armies, and a disorderly court.

II. 2. To complete the calamity, *both the church and state, were, at this time equally weakened by religious controversy and persecution.*—The last of these circumstances was,

in a particular manner, the cause of the rapid success of Mahometanism.

Very soon after the introduction of ^{Year of} Christianity, a fondness for the philo- ^{Christ.} sophy of Plato and Pythagoras, led many to investigate the mysteries of the trinity, and of the divinity and humanity of Jesus Christ, with too much curiosity. Praxeas maintained, that there was but one person in the trinity, and that the Father was the same as the Jesus who was crucified. 193

The same heresy, with some modification, was adopted by Noëtus. . . 239

With a similar notion of preserving the unity of the divine substance, without giving up the trinity, Sabel- lius reduced the three persons of the trinity to one and the same being, manifesting himself by two distinct operations, or energies moving from himself, called the son and the holy ghost. 257

Arius, in avoiding the error of Sabellius, asserted Jesus Christ to be a creature drawn out of nothing, by the father, and subsisting by his will, but begotten before all other beings, and participating, by his father's gift, in his essence and glory. He was condemned by the general council of Nice. 325

To support the consubstantiality of the son with the father, Apollinaris contended against Arius, that Jesus Christ had not an human soul; he was condemned by the sixth council of Rome. 377

In opposition to him, Theodore of Mopsuestia maintained, that Jesus Christ had a soul distinct from the word, and performed actions, which were only referrible to that soul. Without it, according to him, it would be necessary to suppose, that, the divinity suffered, the divinity increased in wisdom. 428

Nestorius carried the system further; he asserted the existence of two distinct persons in Christ, that one was eternal, infinite, increate; that the other originated in time, was finite, and had been created. His doctrine was condemned by the third council of Ephesus. 431

Year of
Christ.

Eutyches fell into the opposite extreme, asserting, that, in Jesus Christ, the divine nature only existed; his humanity being absorbed by it, as a drop of water by the ocean. Thus, it was the error of Nestorius to divide the person, the error of Eutyches to confound the two natures of Christ. The doctrine of Eutyches was condemned by the council of Chalcedon, in 451

In opposition to the Eutychians, some Monks of Scythia asserted the proposition, "one of the trinity has suffered for us." 520

Pope John the 2d, in a letter to the emperor Justinian, approved of the proposition, it being explained to mean, that the second person of the trinity suffered in the flesh. . . . 534

After
Christ.

The unity of God, the trinity of persons, being thus established in the godhead, and the two natures and unity of person in the son of God, a dispute arose on the nature of his will. Theodore, the bishop of Pharan in Arabia, asserted, and Sergius, the patriarch of Constantinople, adopted his assertion, that, in Jesus Christ, though there were two natures, there was but one will. This gave them and their adherents the name of Monothelites. Their heresy was finally condemned in the council at Rome, in . . . 649

Marcian, and Leo, his immediate successor in the throne of Constantinople, enforced the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, with great rigor.

The emperor Justinian enacted many laws against Heretics, Pagans, Jews and Samaritans, and caused them to be carried into execution with great severity. To all the heterodox he offered the alternative of orthodoxy or exile.

The number of those who preferred the latter was great; and the three Arabias offered them a secure retreat: to those therefore they fled.

III.

WITH respect to THE RISE AND FIRST PROGRESS OF THE MAHOMETAN RELIGION:

III. 1. *Arabia*, where it first took its rise, extends in longitude east, from the 51st to the 77th degree, and in latitude north, from the 12th to the 34th. It forms a peninsula, bounded by Syria and Palestine on the north-west, by the Persian gulph and the western borders of the Euphrates towards the north-east, by the Indian sea on the

south-east, and by the red sea on the south-west. It is divided into the stony, the sandy, and the happy Arabia. The mountains of Horeb and Sinai are in the stony Arabia, the cities of Mecca and Medina in the sandy Arabia. "The Arabs," says Mr. Sale, "have preserved their liberty, of which
" few nations can produce such antient
" monuments, even from the very deluge;
" for, though very great armies have been
" sent against them, all attempts to subdue
" them were unsuccessful."—He shews that, as a nation, they have always been independent, as individuals, they have always possessed the highest degree of domestic freedom.

III. 2. The *inhabitants of Arabia* have been divided into two classes, the old and new. The old are wholly lost; the new are supposed to have sprung from two stocks, Kahtan, the son of Heber, a great grandson of Sem, and Adnan, a descendant, in a direct line, from Ismael, the son of Abra-

ham by Hagar. The former of these two stocks is said to be the genuine or pure Arabs, or, as the natives call them, Arabs through Arabs; the latter is the mestif or mixed Arabs. Ismael, through whom these claim to descend from Abraham, was virtually an Hebrew; but by his marriage with a daughter of Morad, of the race of Kah-tan, he ingrafted his posterity on the Arabic stock.

Mahomet descended from Ismael in a strait line, from male to male, and from eldest son to eldest son.

In tracing his genealogy, three series of descents are distinguished: the first from Ismael to Adnan, in which all is uncertainty; the second from Adnan to Fehr, surnamed the Koreish; the third from Fehr to Mahomet. The descents from Adnan are ascertained with tolerable certainty; but the Koreish, confessedly the most eminent of the tribes of the Arabs, originated from Fehr. A traditionary account, which

the Arabians hold sacred, has transmitted every name which enters into this long pedigree; and though we should consider it fabulous, it is a fable adopted by the nation, and fables adopted by a nation are, like truths adopted by her, the foundation of the rights of the families, of which she is composed. Besides, it is well known, with what care the antient nations of the east preserved the memory of their descents: their pedigrees make their history. According to them, when Abraham expelled Ismael and Hagar from his house, Ismael wandered to that part of Arabia, where Mecca now stands, and which then was a mere desert; there, tormented with thirst and worn down with fatigue, he miraculously discovered the well, mentioned in the book of Genesis. He remained in its neighbourhood till the death of Hagar: then he proceeded to the northern parts of Arabia. He found them peopled with the descendants of the patriarch Heber. Soon after-

wards, he married; and having continued a considerable time in the northern part of Arabia, he quitted it, and with a large family, and numerous flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, returned to Hagar's well.

Before his journey to Arabia, the tribe of the Gioramides had established itself in South Arabia: they advanced afterwards to the North, and fixed in a spot, about ninety leagues distant from Hagar's well: there, they laid the foundation of the city of Yatreb, to which Mahomet gave the name of Medina. Thus, even as early as the days of Ismael, the Mahometan writers find in Arabia, the rival cities of Mecca and Medina, and the rival tribes by which they were inhabited.

The Gioramides afterwards returned to the South, and possessed themselves of Hagar's well; Ismael reclaimed it; the dispute was settled by an alliance between the tribes; Ismael marrying Vaala, the daughter of Modal, the chief of the Gioramides,

and receiving with her, in marriage, the well and the territories adjacent.

Ismael built, in the middle of his possessions, the celebrated Caaba, or square house, in honour of the God of Abraham. The Mahometans assert that, by the order of God, Abraham assisted Ismael in building it; and that it was formed on the model of a similar building, which Seth had erected from a representation, let down from heaven at the prayer of Adam, and which had been destroyed by the deluge. A black stone in it became an object of great veneration, from the notion of its having been brought to Abraham, by the angel Gabriel, to rest upon, while he was directing the building, and on which Abraham had left the print of his feet. Hagar's well is now called the Well of Zemzen. Insensibly, by the increase of Ismael's descendants, and a conflux of strangers, attracted by the celebrity of the place, the neighbourhood of the Caaba and the well became very popu-

lous. The descendants of Ismael ^{Before Christ.} were the first princes of the city and the first priests of the temple. But the great grandson of Ismael leaving, at his decease, two children of very tender years, the chief of the tribe of the Gioramides possessed himself both of the city and the temple. They were recovered by the Ismaelites, about three centuries afterwards; but the Gioramide prince, before he abandoned Mecca, threw into Hagar's well, the whole treasure of the temple, and the principal objects of devotion in it, and particularly the black stone; he then filled up the well with rubbish. 1343

For some time, the Ismaelites preserved the possession of the city and temple; they were driven from them by the Zhozaites: Kofa, the chief of the Koreish, and therefore an Ismaelite, obtained possession of them by strata-

gem, and transmitted them to his ^{Before} posterity. ^{Christ.}

Before this time, Idolatry had made great progress in Arabia; it owed its origin to the astronomical observations of the Arabians. In their journeys through their immense deserts, the Arabians had no other guides than the stars; they observed the regularity of their motions; they supposed them directed by intellectual beings inferior to God, but superior to man. This worship of the stars led them to form statues with their name, and to make talismans, which they supposed of sufficient power to regulate their influence. They generally believed the scriptural history of the creation, and the deluge; respected Abraham and other patriarchs; read the book of the psalms, and had other books which they accounted sacred, particularly a collection of moral discourses which

they called the Book of Seth. Their ^{Before} ^{Christ.} superstitious credence is known by the appellation of Sabaeism.

In the midst of this general idolatry, the descendants of Ismael, who united in themselves the titles of princes of Mecca and guardians of its temple, were depositaries of the primitive worship. Among them, Caab is particularly distinguished: on every Friday, he assembled the faithful, and discoursed to them on the unity of God. Yet idolatry gained ground, and, at the death of Kelab, the grandson of Caab, the worship of the true God is said, by the Arabian writers, to have been confined to the temple of Mecca.

Caab left two sons; Kofa his eldest son was, for a time, dispossessed of his sovereignty by Amrou, his younger brother: he introduced the worship of idols into the temple; and Kofa had

not sufficient influence with his tribe After
Christ.
to remove them. His grandson Has-
chem succeeded to the sovereignty,
about the beginning of the sixth cen-
tury of the christian æra. . . . 500

He was the great-grandfather of
Mahomet, and the ablest of the Mec-
can princes. He introduced com-
merce into his state by the establish-
ment of two caravans, one for South
Arabia, the other for Syria. . . . 577

Abdo'lmotalleb, his only son, suc-
ceeded his father, and pursued, with
success, his views for the aggrandize-
ment and wealth of his state. To
him, according to the Mahometan
writers, the place of Hagar's well was
discovered: he cleared it from its
rubbish, and dug up the black stone.
Abdollah was the eldest son of Ab-
do'lmotalleb, and died in his life-
time. Mahomet was the only son of
Abdollah: he was born, in 569

After
Christ.

Abdo'lmotalleb died, in 578

At the age of six years, Mahomet lost his mother: at her decease, Abdo'lmotalleb, his grandfather, took him under his care, but he dying at the end of two years, Abutaleb, the eldest surviving son of Abdo'lmotalleb, and who, in that quality, succeeded to the dignities of prince of Mecca and priest of the temple, undertook the care of Mahomet's education: he made him his companion in the caravans he conducted, and the wars he carried on. This was the life Mahomet led, till he attained his twenty-fifth year; when he married Kadija, who was his relation, and a widow in wealthy circumstances. 593

All accounts of Mahomet agree that from his earliest years, he was religiously inclined, and shewed great zeal against idolatry, and a strong wish for its extirpation. It is said,

that Sergius, a Nestorian monk, remarked this disposition in him, when, in his 13th year, he accompanied his father to the monastery in which Sergius resided. After his marriage, his zeal redoubled, and he gave himself up to a mystic and contemplative life. Once a year, he shut himself up for a whole month, in a cavern of a mountain, about three miles distant from Mecca, to meditate, without interruption, on religious subjects. His temperance and ample charities to the poor procured him universal respect; his piety was so generally acknowledged, that, a dispute arising, who should have the honour of placing the black stone in the temple of Mecca, the voice of the people unanimously deferred it to him. His mode of life could not but increase the fanaticism of an imagination, naturally ardent; at the age of 40, he publickly assumed the character of a prophet sent by God, to re-establish, in its purity, the religion of Abraham and Ismael.

III. 3. He addressed a willing audience of armed proselytes, who would follow him with fanaticism equal to his own, whose powerful onset neither the eastern nor western empire was likely to resist, whom first victories would elevate to irresistible valour and enterprize, and who would spread themselves over the world with the zeal of missionaries, and the ambition of conquerors.

At first, he met with some resistance, and in consequence of it, was obliged to fly from Mecca to Medina, a distance of about 170 miles. This was in the 622d year of the christian æra. With this year the Mahometans begin their epocha of the *Hegira* or Flight. The Epoch of the Hegira, is Friday, the sixteenth day of July, in the 622d year of the Christian æra:—by some Mahometans, it is placed one day earlier.

The Arabian years are lunar, consisting of 354 days, 8 hours, and 48 minutes: but their civil years are sometimes of 354, and sometimes of 355 days. The intercalary

days are adjusted by a cycle of 30 years, of which 19 are of 354 days, and 11 of 355 days in the following order,—2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 15, 18, 21, 24, 26, 29. A cycle began in the year 1757, on the 14th of September, which was the first day of the Hegira 1171. (La Lande, *Astronomie*, 2 Ed. Book 8. § 1602, 1603.)

This cycle is equal to 29 Julian years, and 39 or 40 days, according as there are 7 or 8 Bissextile years among them; in longer computations, the omission of the Bissextile in 3 out of 4 centenary years, according to the Gregorian Reformation, must not be forgotten.

III. 3. *The extent of the conquests made by Mahomet* and his immediate successors in the caliphate, called his companions, is one of the most surprizing events mentioned in history.

The three Arabias were subdued by Mahomet; Abubeker, his immediate successor, assumed from respect and in reference to

him, the title of Caliph, or Vicar, and, in this, was followed by a long line of successors. Very soon after Mahomet's decease, his disciples were generally known, among the christians, by the appellation of Saracens. Abubeker addressed them a circular letter, in which he shortly acquainted them, that, "he intended sending some true believers into Syria to take it out of the hands of the Infidels:" and "desired them to observe, that fighting for religion was an act of obedience to God." This was a general declaration of war by the Mahometans against all mankind, who should not embrace their religious principles. From the avowed object of the war, they called it the "holy war," and thus, to use the expression of the author of *l'Esprit des Croisades*, (*Tom. I. p. 116,*) "it was the model and the justification of the crusades." Such was the success of their enterprize, that, in less than a century from the com-

mencement of the Hegira, they spread the religion of Mahomet, from the Atlantic Ocean, to India and Tartary; and his successors reigned in Syria, Persia, Egypt, Africa and Spain. Since that time, they have been expelled from Spain; but have conquered the kingdoms of Visapour and Golconda in India, the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes and the Cyclades, and have made large territorial acquisitions in Tartary, Hungary and Greece.

Jerusalem was taken by the generals of Omar, the 2d Caliph. “The descriptions,” says Mons. Anquetil, (*Précis de l’Histoire Universelle, Tom. V. p. 40*), “which the historians of the campaigns of the Saracens in Judæa, give of their fertility and their numerous towns, enriched by commerce, agree with the descriptions given of them by the sacred penmen, and shew that they have been unjustly accused of exaggeration, for calling it the land of milk

“ and honey. What, under the dominion
 “ of the Turks, are the fields watered by
 “ the Tigris and Euphrates?”

IV.

WITH respect to THE PRINCIPAL MA-
 HOMETAN STATES:

IV. 1. In the history of Mahometanism
*the Dynasties and Fortunes of the Universal
 Caliphs fill a large space.*

The four first of them are distinguished
 by the appellation of Companions of Ma-
 homet, and caliphs of the right line. They
 reigned from the death of Mahomet, which
 happened in the eleventh year of the He-
 gira, or the 632d year of Christ, to the 40th
 year of the Hegira, or the 661st year of
 Christ.

The three first caliphs resided at Medina; Ali transferred his residence to Coufah, or Cafa, a town in Chal- dæa, or the Babylonish Irak, situate on the right bank of the Euphrates.	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
	41	661

The four first caliphs are considered to have been elected by the general and free voice of the whole body of the people. This gives their Caliphate a rank above those of their successors. Their's is the Perfect, that of their successors, is the Imperfect Caliphate.	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
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After the assassination of Ali and the resignation of Hassan, his eldest son Moavia was elected caliph. He was great grandson of Ommyiah, who was of the same family as Mahomet. He made the caliphate hereditary in his family, and fourteen of his descendants, (a collateral relation being sometimes called to the succession, in preference to the lineal heir), possessed the caliphate in succession.

From Ommyiah it is called the dynasty of the Ommiades. Moavia transferred the seat of the caliphate to Damascus.

To Walid the 1st, the prevalence

of the Arabic language in the countries conquered by the disciples of Mahomet, is owing. He ordered that the Greek language should be no longer used, and that the Arabic should be substituted for it.

Under him the caliphate had its largest extent of territory.—It reached from Spain to China, and China was its tributary. 95 713

It was even, for a time, uncertain, whether the arms of the Saracens would not overthrow all Europe. At the head of an immense army, Abderame, by the order of the Caliph Hashem, crossed the Pyrenees, passed the Rhone, took Arles, over-ran Aquitaine and reached the banks of the Loire; there he was met and completely defeated by Charles Martel. 114 732

Mervan the 2d, the last prince of the dynasty of the Ommiades, died in 133 750

The reason assigned by the Om- miades, for their rising against Ali, was his connivance in the murder of Oth- man, his immediate predecessor. The Abassides rose against the Ommiades, on pretence of revenging on them the death of Ali. By the defeat and murder of Mervan the 2d, they pos- sessed themselves of the caliphate, and Aboul Abbas was elected caliph. At first, he fixed his residence at Coufah; thence transferred it to Haschemiah, on the Euphrates. Abou-Giafar-Al- mansor, his immediate successor, built the town of Bagdat. Till the extinc- tion of the Abassidan dynasty, that town was the principal residence of the caliphs; and there, having com- pletely abandoned the simplicity of the first caliphs, they displayed all the magnificence and ceremonial of the Persian and Bysantine courts. From their residence in that city, the	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
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the Abassides are usually called the caliphs of Bagdat, in contradistinction from the Ommiades, who, from the country in which they resided, are called the caliphs of Syria. They were supreme both in church and state.

The power of the caliphs was preserved under the Ommiades, without any sensible diminution. It flourished greatly, under the first of the Abassides. By the orders of Abdallah the 3d, an account was taken of the persons then living of that race, and they were found to exceed 33,000. . . . 201 816

The splendor of the caliphate began to decline under Motasem, the 8th of the Abassides. He first introduced, into the service of the caliphs, the Turks, their future masters. . . . 218 833

Radhi, the 20th caliph of the Abassides, was the last by whom the caliphate was possessed with any degree of splendor; "the last," says Abul- 329 940

feda, “ who harangued the people “ from the pulpit, who passed the “ cheerful hours of leisure with men “ of learning and taste; whose ex- “ pence, revenues and treasures, whose “ table or magnificence had any re- “ semblance to those of the antient “ caliphs.” — From being the most powerful sovereigns of the eastern world, they, soon after his time, were reduced to the meanest and most ser- vile offices, to the lowest state of de- gradation and contempt.	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
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The extent of their dominions made it necessary that they should employ governors in the remoter provinces, and invest them with unlimited powers: symptoms of disobedience soon appeared among them. The revolt of Spain was the first successful rebellion against them. The example was generally followed; and, long before the final extinction of the Abassidan dy-

nasty, the empire of the caliphs was divided among a number of independent princes. Many of them were known by the appellation of Emirs.

The history of these revolts is the principal subject of the annals of the Saracens, during the 10th century of the christian æra, or the period from the 288th to the 391st year of the Hegira. Among these revolts, two deserve particular attention: that of Obeidollah, who founded the Fatimite dynasty in Africa, and that of Moez-Ledinillah, (the fourth in succession from him), who conquered Syria and Egypt, and founded Grand Cairo 391 1000

Similar revolts are the subject of the annals of the Saracens in the following century. It is particularly remarkable for the conquests of Mahmood of Gazna, the first Mahometan prince who bore the title of Sultan;

and for the rise of the Seljouk Turks,	Year	Year of
one of the many nations that occu-	of the	Christ.
pied the territory between the Euxine	Hegira.	
and the Caspian seas.	494	1100

The next century is remarkable for the dismemberment of the Caliphate by the Atabeks, or Lieutenants, who formed four separate and independent dynasties, which reigned in the Arabian Irak, in Aderbigan or Media, in Fars or Persia, and in Laristan, or the country on the Persian gulph

	529	1135
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By degrees the Caliphs were deprived of all temporal power, and were even reduced to beg for alms. They frequently made attempts to restore themselves to their former consequence, but were ultimately unsuccessful.

Mostasem, the 56th Caliph, was dethroned and put to death by Houlagou Khan, the fifth of the Gengki-skhanidan Moguls.

	656	1258
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Mostanser Billah, a son or pretended son of Daher, the last but one of the caliphs, fled into Egypt;—and he and his successors to the number of eighteen, were considered to be the Imams or spiritual chiefs of the Mahometan religion, but without the slightest vestige of temporal authority.

With Mostanser, the universal caliphate is generally considered to end. The caliphs, distinguished by the appellation of Companions of Mahomet, were four; the next fourteen caliphs were of the dynasty of the Ommiades; the remaining forty-five were of the dynasty of the Abassides; twenty-seven of these reigned before Mostanser's flight into Egypt, the succeeding eighteen resided in Egypt. All were called the Universal Caliphs in contradistinction from the other princes who took the title of caliph: whatever temporal power was possessed by those caliphs, the Universal Caliphs

alone are considered to have had the Im-mameth or Spiritual Power.

IV. 3. *Egypt* is a narrow vale on each side of the Nile, widening where the river branches off before it empties itself into the Mediterranean. The Romans divided it into the Lower and Upper Egypt: the Lower extended from the Mediterranean, to the southern point of the Delta; there, Upper Egypt commenced.

It was divided into Heptanomis, the country extending to Said, and the Thebais, or the country reaching from Said to Æthiopia. Egypt was antiently called Mizraim. It is said to have been subject to Cham, a grandson of Noah. On his decease, it was divided into several principalities, all of which, about the year 687 A. C, became united in Amenophis. Soon after his decease, they were again divided; and, in the person of Psammiticus were again united. Egypt was conquered by Cambyses, King

of Persia, in 525 A. C. It continued subject to the Persians, till, in 413, it was conquered from them by Amyrrheus. From that time it was an independent kingdom, and governed by its own sovereigns, till it was conquered by Artaxerxes Ochus, king of Persia, in 350 A. C. From that, to the present time, no native of Egypt has ever been its sovereign. It remained a province of Persia, till, on the death of Alexander the Great, in 325, it was seized by Ptolemy Lagus. His descendants held it till it was reduced to a Roman province.

It was conquered from the Romans	Year	Year of
by Amrou, one of Omar's generals,	of the	Christ.
in	Hegira.	
	21	641

On the dismemberment of the caliphate, Abou-Obeidollah, who pretended to descend from Ali and Fatima, possessed himself of it. . . .	297	909
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With him the dynasty of the Fatimite caliphs began; it ended in Ahded, the 11th prince of the dynasty. . .	567	1171
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He was conquered by Saladin, the Sultan of Damascus and Aleppo, one of the most humane, able, and powerful princes who have professed the Mahometan religion. He was a declared enemy of the Fatimite sect, and ordered the name of the Caliph of Bagdad to be inserted in all the public prayers. He gained, over the christians, the battle of Hittin near Tiberias, which was soon followed by the conquest of all the towns possessed by the christians in Syria. . . .	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
	583	1187

He was of the Ayoubite dynasty. One of the princes of this dynasty having purchased twelve thousand Kaptschac Turks, formed out of them a body of troops, to whom he committed the care of his person. Some of them he raised to the first employments in the state: they deposed his successor, and appointed one of their own chiefs to the dignity of Sultan,

and professed themselves his Mam-	Year	Year of
louks or military slaves. With this, the	of the	Christ.
dynasty of the Baharite Mamlouks	Hegira.	
commences. The first sovereign of		
that dynasty was Moezzeddin-Ibegh-		
el-Turkomani el Dgiaschangir. . . .	648	1250

From that period their history is a continued scene of bloodshed. In a course of 257 years, 47 sultans filled the throne, and almost all of them died a violent death. Touman Bey, the last and one of the most valiant of the Mamlouk Sultans, was conquered and put to death by Selim the 2d, the Emperor of Constantinople; and with him finished the Mamlouk kingdom of Egypt. 923 1517

It then became a province of the Ottoman Empire. Selim preserved the Mamlouks, and divided them into seven military corps. For the government of the kingdom he appointed a Pacha and a Divan, or military coun-

cil, composed of the Pacha and the chiefs of the military corps; and distributed the kingdom into twenty-four provinces, under the direction of as many Beys, who were always to be chosen from the Mamlouks, and one of them was sent to reside at Cairo, under the appellation of Sheikh-eb-beled. “Such,” says M. Volney, “is the militia of slaves, converted into despots, which, for more than 550 years, have given law to Egypt.” A circumstance unparalleled, in what we know of other nations, attends them. Scarcely any of them has left issue, who have subsisted in the 3d generation. The consequence is, that, as they die away, they are replaced by slaves brought from Georgia, Circassia, and Mingrelia. To this, in some measure, the continuance of the dependance of the Mamlouks on the Ottoman Emperors has been owing.	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
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But this dependance for some time past has been on the decline. In 1746, Ibrahim, one of the veteran colonels of the Janissaries, rendered himself master of Egypt. Ali Bey did the same in 1766, and had he possessed a greater share of judgment and ability, Egypt might now have been an independent kingdom.

IV. 4. *Africa*, where the caliphs and sheriffs of Morocco had their rise, was invaded by the Saracens in 647, and the conquest of it was completed by them, in 79 693

The extensive desarts of each country had naturally occasioned an immemorial resemblance in their habits and modes of life, and the Moors easily adopted the language of their conquerors. The consequence was, that, from the time of the Mahometan conquest, the vast territory from the easternmost boundary of Arabia to

the western shore of Africa, appeared to be peopled by a nation of the same origin, language and manners. Africa was ruled by the caliph of Bagdad. Ali Ibrahim, the 10th in succession of these governors, made himself independent of the caliph. . . .	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
	197	812

He was the founder of the dynasty called the Aglabite, from his father. But it should be observed, that the Aglabite dynasty reigned over that part only of Africa, which extends from Egypt to Tunis. Edris-ben-Edris, who descended both from Ali and from Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet, reigned over Ceuta, Fez, Tangiers, and almost all the antient Mauritania.

The dynasty of the Aglabites expired, in	296	908
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Mahomet-Obeid-Ollah then seized the throne. He expelled the Edrissite dynasty from the countries over which

they reigned, and annexed them to his empire. He pretended to deduce his origin from Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet, and assumed the title of Caliph and Imam. With him the Fatimite dynasty in Africa took its rise.	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
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Moez, the last prince of that dynasty, having conquered Egypt, fixed the seat of his empire at Cairo, and transferred the sovereignty of Africa to Sousouf-ben-Zeiri-ben-Mounad, on the condition of receiving homage from him and his successors. . . .	362	972
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This was the origin of the Zeirite dynasty. They were succeeded by the Almoravides, or Recluse; and these, by the Almohades or Unitarians.	553	1153
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That dynasty expired in the person of Vassek-Aboul-Ala.

Three dynasties arose on its ruins, the Merinis, the Abi-haffs, and the

Beni-Zians or Zenetes. The first, (who were the most powerful), ruled in Morocco; the second, in the Africa Propria of the Romans, the third, in Tremesan. While the princes of these dynasties were contending for dominion, Frederic Barbarossa, one of the many illustrious persons whose achievements illustrated the reign of Solyman the Magnificent, possessed himself of the whole territory extending from Fez to Egypt. Retaining the government of Algiers for himself, he put one of his brothers in possession of Tunis, another in possession of Tripoli: no part of Africa except Morocco, Fez, and Tremesan, then remained to the Merinis: from those they were expelled by the Sheriffian family, a prince of which now fills that throne.	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
957	1550	

Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli are republics, professing to be under the protection, but

disclaiming the sovereignty of the Porte. Barca lies between Tripoli and Egypt, and belongs to the Porte: the nations which fill the northern extremity of Africa, from the streights of Gibraltar to Egypt, are called the states of Barbary. Ceuta, on the streights of Gibraltar, Mellila and the fort of Velez in Fez, belong to the Spaniards: Magazan, in the same kingdom, belongs to the Portuguese; except in those places, Islamism is professed through the whole western coast of Barbary, and very far in the country lying to its south. No part of the history of the Saracens is so confused, and at the same time so disgusting, by the continued scenes it displays of bloodshed and every kind of horror, as that which relates to the history of their African possessions.

IV. 5. *Spain*, including Portugal, reaches from the 7th degree of western to the 3d degree of eastern longitude; and from the 36th to the 44th degree of northern latitude. It is bounded on the north, by the

Bay of Biscay and the Pyrenees; on the south and south-east, by the Mediterranean; on the west, by the Atlantic. It is said to have been peopled originally by Tubal, a grandson of Noah. In consequence of a famine, a large proportion of its inhabitants left it about the year 1702, (A.C.) and established themselves in a country between the Euxine and Caspian seas, called from this event, Iberia. Some of them returned to Spain, having been joined by a numerous body from the different Celtic nations through which they passed; on that account they received, after their return, the name of Celt-iberi. Being jealous of the Phœnicians, who had made settlements in the north and north-western coasts, they applied to the Carthaginians for their assistance in expelling them, and the Carthaginians made themselves masters of the whole country: this was about the year 221. A.C. The wars between Rome and Carthage began in Spain: the Romans sub-

dued the greatest part of it: they divided it into two provinces, the Hispania citerior, and the Hispania ulterior, and governed them by two Prætors. Augustus divided the latter into two provinces; so that, at the beginning of the christian æra, it consisted of three provinces: the Tarraconensis, which contained all the north of Spain to the Douro; Lusitania, containing Portugal, part of Leon, and all the old and part of new Castille; and the Bætica, which comprehended Andalusia, Granada, and the other part of New Castille.

Spain was one of the parts of the Roman Empire which were first subdued by the Barbarians.

The universal tradition of the nations of the north, and all their antient writers, place the Goths, the conquerors of Spain, at a period, as early as general history reaches, among the nations of the Baltic, to the confines of which they had travelled from the	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
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antient Scythia, and assigned the denomination of Visigoths or western Goths, to those tribes of them, which inhabited that part of Scandinavia, which borders on Denmark; and that of Ostrogoths or Eastern Goths, to those, which inhabited the more eastern parts on the Baltic. In all their emigrations and settlements, they preserved their names, and the same relative situation. Towards the end of the first century of the christian æra, a large establishment of them is found on the Vistula, and numerous tribes of a people of the same origin, but known by the appellation of Vandals, is found on the Oder.	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
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100

Their history shews their migrations to the Euxine, the settlements of the Ostrogoths in the southern parts of Asia Minor, and the settlements of the Visigoths in Thrace. At the battle of Adrianople, the Goths obtained over

the emperor Valens a victory, from	Year	Year of Christ.
which the empire of the west never	of the	
recovered.	Hegira.	

Alaric was the first of the barbarian invaders who took the city of Rome. About 9 months before that event, the Suevi, Vandals, and Alani invaded Spain. It was soon afterwards conquered from them by the Visi-Goths: they kept possession of it for three centuries: at the end of which, the Saracens or Moors, by the treachery of two exiled princes, and of Oppas, the Archbishop of Seville, completed the conquest of it in eight months.

410

94 712

About the same time, the Ostrogoths made their settlements in Pannonia and Sclavonia, and the countries on the higher Danube.

Upon a revolution of the Caliphate at Damascus, Abdalrahman or Almansor, a royal youth of the family of the Ommiades, established an in-

dependent kingdom in Spain, and	Year	Year of
assumed the title of caliph. He fixed	of the	Christ.
his throne at Cordova.	Hegira.	
	134	751

The caliphs of this line are often called the caliphs of the west, to distinguish them from the universal caliphs, who, from having the seat of their empire at Bagdat, were called the caliphs of the east.

The reigns of the Ommiades in Spain, were, to use Mr. Swinburn's words, (*Travels through Spain*, p. 280),
 “ those flourishing ages of Arabian
 “ gallantry and magnificence, which
 “ rendered the Moors of Spain supe-
 “ rior to all their cotemporaries in
 “ arts and arms, and made Cordova
 “ one of the most splendid cities of
 “ the world. Cordova was the cen-
 “ tre of politeness, taste, and genius;
 “ tilts and tournaments, with other
 “ costly shews, were long the darling
 “ pastimes of a wealthy happy peo-

“ ple. And this was the only king-	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
“ dom in the west, where geometry,		
“ astronomy, and physic, were regu-		
“ larly studied and practised.”		

It is observable that Cordova, under Abdalraham the 2d, was paved with stone, which was 334 years before the time when, under Philip Augustus, the metropolis of France first had that pavement.

236	850
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The dynasty of the Ommiades in Spain ended by the murder of Mutumed al Allah, the last prince of that family, in

430	1038
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They were succeeded by the Morabouths or Almoravides.

This revolution wholly changed the face of the Arabic monarchy in Spain. The governors of the provinces, the ministers of the state, and chief officers in the army, and the heads of the leading families raised themselves to be independent princes, so that there

were almost as many kingdoms as towns. Cordova, Toledo, Seville, Iden, Lisbon, Tortosa, Valentia, Murcia, Almeria, Denia, and the Balearick Islands had their respective sovereigns.	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
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The christian princes took advantage of these divisions, and by degrees conquered Castile, Arragon, Navarre, and Portugal from the Mahometans. The last principality which remained to the Mahometans, was Granada and its territory. It was yielded up by Abdalmoumin, the last of the dynasty of Morabouths or Almoravides, to Abousabid, a prince of the dynasty of the Almohades. Mahomet-al-hamar possessed himself of it, in 634 1236

It was conquered by Ferdinand and Isabella, in 898 1492

Whilst it was governed by its Mahometan sovereigns, "It seems," says Mr. Swinburne, "to have enjoyed

“ greater affluence and prosperity	Year	Year of
“ than it has done since it became a	of the	Christ.
“ province of Spain. Before the con-	Hegira.	
“ quest, it was one of the most com-		
“ pact, well peopled, opulent king-		
“ doms in the world. Its agriculture		
“ was brought to great perfection; its		
“ revenues and circulation were im-		
“ mense; the public works carried on		
“ with great magnificence, and its		
“ population not to be credited by		
“ any person that sees it in its pre-		
“ sent state. Of their taste and mag-		
“ nificence, the ruins of the palace of		
“ Alhambra, built in the midst of gar-		
“ dens of aromatic trees, with noble		
“ views over beautiful hills and fertile		
“ plains, are a splendid monument.		
“ The Moors are said to offer up pray-		
“ ers, every Friday, for the recovery		
“ of this city.”		

After the conquest of it by Ferdinand and Isabella, a considerable

number of the Moors remained in Spain. They were called Moriscoes. They formed, in Granada, a conspiracy against the Spaniards, which was not quelled until the end of two years, and after many considerable battles.	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
	975	1568

Philip the Third, at the instigation of the inquisition, a tribunal always to be mentioned with the bitterest expressions of detestation, issued an edict ordering all Moriscoes, without any exception, to quit the Spanish territories. From the effect of this improvident measure, Spain has never recovered.

	1019	1610
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IV. 2. The history of *Persia* has been traced to the conquest of it by the generals of the caliph Omar. From that time, it was governed by princes of Turkish extraction, till it was conquered by the Tartars under the command of a son of Genghiskhan.

	599	1202
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His descendants became divided

among themselves, the kingdom was	Year	Year of
dismembered, and Timour made an	of the	Christ.
easy conquest of it from them, in . .	Hegira.	
	787	1385

He was succeeded by Shahrok, his 4th son. A race of Armenian princes then possessed the throne.

About the beginning of the 16th century, Shah Ismael Sophy, who pretended to descend from Muza Khan, one of the twelve sons of Hacon, the son of Ali, the cousin and son in law	906	1500
of Mahomet, seized the throne. He established the sect of Ali in Persia, on the ruin of the sect of Omar, whom the Turks venerate. The hatred which subsists on this account between the Persians and Turks has been mentioned.		

It occasioned a long series of war and bloodshed between the two na-	1143	1730
tions. About the year 1730, the whole kingdom of Persia was conquered by Nadir Shah, an obscure individual of		

a Tartarian Tribe, called Afgars. He	Year	Year of
raised it to the highest degree of splen-	of the	Christ.
dor. At his decease, it was divided	Hegira.	
into a number of governments, and		
in that state, it has since continued.		

IV. 6. *The Mahometan Dynasties in the Empire of Hindustan*, arose in the immense tracts of land which lie between the Asiatic dominions of the Czar, and Persia, India, and China. These have been immemorially filled with numerous hordes, who, at different times, under the names of Scythians, Getes, Huns, Moguls, and Tartars, have made irruptions into the neighbouring territories, and impelled the inhabitants of them on the adjacent countries. From one of these irruptions, a powerful dynasty arose, which, from the seat of its Empire at Ghizni, a city on the westernmost part of the Cowmul, one of the rivers which the Indus receives

from the west, has been called the	Year	Year of
Ghiznevide.	of the	Christ.
	Hegira.	

Sebectagin, its founder, revolted from the king of Boucharia, one of the Mahometan princes, who raised themselves into power, on the ruins of the Caliphate. Mahmood, one of his sons, and the third in succession to him, subdued Hindustan, and established in it, the religion of Mahomet, destroying, wherever his power extended, the temples and idols of the antient religion.

	391	1000
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Kosrou Shaw, the last prince of the Ghiznevide race, was expelled by Hussain Gauri, a native of Gaur, a province lying to the north of Ghizni; from him, the dynasty of the Gaurides takes its appellation. Mahomet Gauri took Benares, the antient seat of Bra-

	580	1184
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minical learning. “The death of Mahomet Gori,” says Colonel Dow, “may, in some degree, be said to have put an end to the empire of

“ Ghizni. The unambitious charac-	Year	Year of
“ ter of the surviving princes of the	of the	Christ.
“ family of Ghor, gave an opportu-	Hegira.	
“ nity to two of the inferior slaves, to		
“ divide among them the empire		
“ which Mahomet had been at so		
“ much pains to acquire. Ildicur, or,		
“ as he is sometimes called, Eldoze,		
“ kept possession of Ghizni and the		
“ northern provinces; and Cuttub,		
“ the favourite friend, and faithful		
“ servant of the late emperor, was		
“ already Viceroy of the empire over		
“ the conquests in India. From Cut-		
“ tub the Mahometan Empire of the	602	1205
“ Patans or Afgans in India com-		
“ menced.” The seat of their empire		
was Dehli. In the reign of Mahomet,		
the 2d prince of that name in the Pa-		
tan or Afgan dynasty, Hindustan was		
invaded and subdued by Timour. . .	801	1398
He did not alter the succession:		
but Mahomet was the last prince of		

the family of the Gaurides; on his de-	Year	Year of
cease it devolved on Chizer, a Seid,	of the	Christ.
that is, one of the race of the prophet.	Hegira.	
	816	1413

From his descendants, Belloli, an Afghan of the tribe of Lodi, wrested the crown of Delhi, and transferred the seat of empire to Agra.

	854	1450
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Babar, Sultan of the Mogul Tartars, a descendant of Timour and Genghiskhan, put an end to the dynasty of Lodi, and obtained the empire, in

	932	1525
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From this time, the countries, which he and his successors subdued, including Hindustan and the Decan, were called the Mogul empire. His grandson Akber, was one of the most wise and powerful monarchs that ever filled a throne. He divided the empire into 11 soubahs; each of the soubahs into certain circars or counties, and each circar into certain pungunnahs or hundreds. He died in

	1014	1605
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He was succeeded by Jehanguire his son, and Jehanguire by Shaw Jehan. In the year 1658, the civil wars between Jehan and his sons, and between the sons themselves, first broke out: they terminated in the elevation of Aurengzebe. “He,” says Mr. Adams, in his <i>Summary of geography and history, both antient and modern</i>, “raised the Mogul empire “to the highest pitch of splendor. “His authority extended from the “10th to the 35th degree of latitude, “and nearly as much in longitude, “containing at least sixty-four millions of inhabitants; and his revenue exceeded thirty-two millions of pounds sterling, in a country where the products of the earth are at least four times as cheap as in England. He died in 1707; but the feeble princes who succeeded, being unable to wield so weighty a scep-	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
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“ tre, the vast empire was, in the	Year	Year of
“ course of fifty years, reduced to	of the	Christ.
“ nothing.”	Hegira.	
	1119	1707

The feelings of Aurengzebe, in the awful hour of dissolution, are thus described by Major Rennel, (*Introd. to his Memoir on the Map of Hindostan, lxiii. note.*) “ Two letters written by Aurengzebe to two of his sons, a few days before his death, furnish this striking lesson to frail mortality; that, however men may forget themselves, during the tide of prosperity, a day of recollection will come sooner or later. Here we are presented with the dying confession of an aged monarch who made his way to the throne by the murder of his brethren and the imprisonment of his father, and who, after being in possession of it, persecuted the most inoffensive part of his subjects, either through bigotry or hypocrisy;

“ here we behold him, in the act of	Year	Year of
“ resigning that, to obtain possession	of the	Christ.
“ of which, he incurred his guilt,	Hegira.	
“ and presented to us a mere sinful		
“ man, trembling on the verge of eter-		
“ nity, equally deploring the past and		
“ dreading the future. How awful		
“ must his situation appear to him,		
“ when he says, “ wherever I look, I		
“ see nothing but the divinity.”		

Aurengzebe left four sons; on the ruin of them, Feroskeere, a nephew of Jehaunder, the eldest of them, obtained the throne. 1125 1712

In his reign, the English East-India company received the famous Firman or Grant, regarded as the company's commercial charter in India, while they stood in need of protection from the princes of that country. Nadir Shah, after the conquest of the Persian empire, invaded and conquered Hindustan, in the reign of Mahomet

Shah, a grandson of Shah Aulum.	Year	Year of
But Mahomet was left by him in pos-	of the	Christ.
session of the throne; and died, in . .	Hegira.	
1154		1741

With him, the Mogul Empire may be said to have expired.

IV. 7. This leads to the mention of the *Ottoman emperors*. At a promontory of Lycia, in Minor Asia, a ridge of mountains begins, which, without much interruption, extends to the Eastern Ocean. In a general sense, the antients gave it the name of the Taurus; but, in a more contracted sense, they gave the name of Taurus to that part of it which extends from Lycia to the part of Armenia, where the Euphrates rises. There, they supposed it was met by a chain of mountains, which, rising in a north-western point of the space between the Euxine and the Caspian, fills the intermediate country and shuts up the Caspian on the south; that, they called the Caucasus; a remoter branch of it, extending to the easternmost of the rivers which flow into

the Ganges, they called the Paropamisus, and its supposed extreme part the Emodus. The Imaus, or Caff, a point of these mountains between Samarcand and Cashgar, calculated, by Mr. Gibbon, to be at the equal distance of two thousand miles from the Caspian, the Jcy, and the Bengal Seas, is the centre of them.

From the skirts of it the Turks, one	Year	Year of
of the most warlike of the tribes, which	of the	Christ.
inhabited these mountains, issued to-	Hegira.	
wards the close of the sixth century,		
and by a succession of victories, sub-	184	800
dued an extensive territory on every		
side of their native mountains. But		
they soon lost all their eastern con-		
quests, and were driven from their		
original settlements near the Imaus:		
large bodies of them then settled in		
the country beyond the Gihon or the		
Oxus, the Sogdiana and Bactriana		
of the Antients, the Turkestan of the		
Turks and Tartars, and the Great		

Boucharia of European geographers.	Year	Year of
Seljuk, the leader of one of their tribes,	of the	Christ.
embraced Mahometanism, and by his	Hegira.	
valour and the valour of his grandson		
Togrul Bey, became the head of a		
dynasty, which reigned from the Cas-	545	1150
pian Sea to Damascus, from the Indus		
to the Gulph of Persia. On the death		
of Malek Shah, the great nephew of		
Togrul Bey, (1052), the possessions		
of the Seljukian dynasty were di-		
vided, after a bloody contest, into the		
three independent dynasties of Ico-		
nium, Aleppo and Persia. On the		
death of Aladin, the Sultan of Ico-		
nium, Othman, the generalissimo of		
his troops, usurped his throne, and		
laid the foundation of the empire of		
the Ottoman Turks; to him Bajazet		
was third in succession.		

He obtained from the Caliph, who, as it has been mentioned, then lived in a humble situation in Egypt, a

patent to be Sultan of Roum, or the territories of Romania, Greece and Thrace. After many victories over the Mahometans in Asia Minor, and over the Christians in their remaining territories in Europe, he was defeated and taken prisoner by Timour, at the battle of Angora.	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
	805	1402

Soliman the 1st, a son of Bajazet, escaped from the battle of Angora, and restored the splendor of the Ottoman throne. It arrived at its highest glory, under Mahomet the 2d, by his conquest of Constantinople and the Morea, and his numerous victories from the Adriatic to the Euphrates. .	857	1453
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Still the dignity of Caliph was wanting to the Ottoman princes, as it resided in the caliphs of Egypt, the descendants of Mostanzer Billah. But Mahomet the 12th Ebn Dgiafer, made a formal renunciation of it in favour of Selim the 1st, and, at the same

time, the sheriff of Mecca, presented him, on a silver plate, with the keys of the Kaaba or square house at Mecca.	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
	923	1517

It is a fundamental maxim, in the religion and politics of the disciples of Mahomet, that the Iman should be of the blood of the Coreysh, either in the race of Hasheim or the race of Ali. Both the caliph, and the sheriff, at the time of this event, were Coreysh; the former, descending from Hasheim, the latter, from Ali.

Their cession of their rights to Selim is considered to have transmitted them to the Ottoman princes, and to have fully supplied, in their favour, the want of heritable blood.

The glory of the Ottoman house shone with undiminished splendor, till the death of Solyman the magnificent. Since that time, it has almost always been on the decline, and now appears to touch the moment of its dissolution. 922 1566

V.

WITH respect to THE IRRUPTIONS OF THE MOGUL TARTARS, UNDER GENGHISKHAN AND TIMOUR, INTO THE ASIATIC TERRITORIES CONQUERED BY THE DISCIPLES OF MAHOMET:

To obtain an accurate knowledge of them, it may be found useful to go back very far.

The real geography of the Greeks, did not extend, in the north-eastern parts of Asia, much beyond the Imaus or Caf: the geography of the Romans extended further; but they little thought that the Chinese monarchy contained a greater empire, than their own; and neither Greeks nor Romans suspected, that the north of Asia and Europe, from Japan to the Tanais, was filled with tribes, from whom their future conquerors would issue. Of these the Huns were the most powerful. Early in the

christian æra, several of the most warlike and powerful of their tribes emigrated to the west; some of them established themselves on the eastern side of the Caspian, others on the eastern side of the Volga. The latter, about the beginning of the 4th century, passed the Tanais and subdued the Alani. In little more than half a century, first on the Niester, and afterwards on the Danube, they subdued the Goths; the three nations then united, and, being joined by other barbarous tribes of Hunnish extraction, obtained, in 378, at the battle of Adrianople, a victory over the Romans, from which, as has been already mentioned, the empire of the west never recovered. Towards the middle of the following century, Attila, who claimed regal descent from the heads of some of the noblest tribes of the Huns, became sovereign both of Germany and Scythia, and was a formidable enemy to every sovereign from China to Gaul: his camp, when he was stationary,

was on the northern side of the Danube, between the Teiss and the Carpathian mountains; his empire extended 7000 miles; but probably it did not contain as many towns as may be found within a circle drawn round Bruxelles, at an equal distance from it of 50 miles.

By his decease, his empire was dissolved: insensibly the Huns were melted down into the nations which they conquered; and, if the modern Hungarians be excepted, whose descent from them, is rather a plausible conjecture, than an historical fact supported by conclusive evidence, few vestiges of them are now discoverable, either in Europe or Asia.

Hitherto the inroads of the northern nations is a subject remotely connected with the history of Mahomet and his followers.

But the tide of emigration from the north continuing to flow, the spacious tracts of land which were left vacant by the first emigrations, were occupied by tribes of the

same descent, and those impelled the first invaders on the countries conquered by the Saracens.

In 1176 Gengis the Khan, or head of the Mogul Tartars, settled on the north of China. His four sons made various conquests in China, Transoxania, Syria, Asia Minor, Poland, Hungary and Siberia. Kara-Korum, called Holim, at the mouth of the Onguin in Kalkas Tartary, was the seat of the empire of Gengis and his immediate successors. On his decease, Octai, his son, was proclaimed his successor. Houlagou Khan, the de-throner of the caliph Mostassem, was the grandson of Octai, and great-grandson and fifth in succession to Gengis.	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
	572	1176

Soon after the death of Gengis, the greatest part of his successors and their subjects, adopted the Mahometan religion. Samarcand in Boucharia, was

their residence. On the death of	Year	Year of
Abousaid, the 13th prince of that dy-	of the	Christ.
nasty, several competitors claimed the	Hegira.	
throne, and threw the whole kingdom		
into confusion. Here the Gengiskha-		
nidan dynasty is considered to expire.	736	1335

The house of Timour rose on its ruins. Timour Beg, or, as he is generally called, Tamerlan, was of a noble family in Samarcand, related by females to the house of Gengis. He was the founder of the most extensive empire that has yet been known, extending from the Irtish and Volga to the Persian gulph, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archi- 807 1404

pelago. In his palace at Samarcand, he blended the Scythian festivities of Attila and Gengis with the splendor of the Ottoman court; the former predominated, but at the distance of 300 years they disappeared, in the moving camp of Aurengzebe.

Throughout the vast territories we have mentioned, Gengis and Timour were the scourge of every Christian and Mahometan state which invited or resisted their ambition; but, with this difference, that the private religion of Gengis was the purest deism; and that, in every part of his dominions, he established the most unlimited toleration of religious opinion; but Timour was a bigotted Mahometan, and scarcely allowed the Christians, the choice, offered them by the Koran, of tribute or death.

VI.

WITH respect to THE ATTEMPTS OF THE PRINCES OF CHRISTENDOM TO REPEL THE MAHOMETANS:

VI. 1. The principal of these from the nature of their object, have been		Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
called <i>Crusades</i> . The first was, in .		490	1096
The crusaders took the city of Jerusalem, in		493	1099
Godfrey of Bouillon was elected			

king of Palestine, but, from humility, refused the name of royalty, and assumed the modest title of Defender and Baron of the holy sepulchre. With the advice of the most distinguished of his followers, he composed for the government of the new state, a code of laws. When Jerusalem was retaken from the Christians, the code was lost; all the written fragments which remained of it, and all that had been preserved of it by tradition, were collected together in the middle of the 13th century, by John d'Ibelin, count of Jaffa and Ascalon, lord of Baruth and Rames. A further revision of it was made, in 1369, for the use of the kingdom of Cyprus, by sixteen commissioners in the states of the island; and was published under the title of <i>Assizes de Jerusalem</i>.	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
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The 2d Crusade was promoted by the exhortations of Saint Bernard,

	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
and supported by the Emperor Con- rade the 3d, and the French King, Lewis the 7th.	542	1147

The 3d was undertaken in 1189. It is remarkable for the feuds between our Richard the first, and Philip Augustus of France. 585 1189

The 4th was undertaken, in 600 1203

By a strange fatality, the Crusaders gave up their object for the conquest of the Greek Empire, and, in 1204, they took Constantinople. 601 1204

The 5th Crusade was conducted by several German princes, under Andrew king of Hungary. 615 1218

St. Lewis was at the head of the 6th and 7th Crusades, in 1248 and 1270; and illustrated them by his piety, valour and misfortunes. 649 1248

The brilliant æra of the christian empire in the east, may be fixed towards the end of the 12th century. Their empire then extended from the Euphrates to Tyre:

Hemms, Damascus and Aleppo, were almost the only places of importance within that extensive territory which remained to the Mahometans. All the Christian princes professed to hold their territories of the king of Jerusalem. The principal of them were the kings of Cyprus, the princes of Antioch, the counts of Tripoli, the lords of Ibelin, Barout, Jaffa, Tiberias, Cesarea, Tyre, Napoulous, and Basan, the counts of Edessa, the lords of Heraclea, Margat, Adelon, Maugastears, Caiphas or Hapha, Memars and Morf. By degrees, the Christians lost the whole of their conquests; Jerusalem was taken from them in 1187.

St. John of Acre then became the Metropolis of the Latin Christians of the East, and was taken from them in 1291 (A. H. 690.)

Till the taking of the island of Rhodes by the Turks, the bishop of that island was primate of all the Egæan islands. On that event, the primacy was transferred to the

archbishop of Naxos. Several christian families of distinction inhabit that island: they are all the remains of the antient families of France, Spain, and Italy, who established themselves in Greece and Syria, in consequence of the victories of the Crusaders in the east.

VI. 2. To the crusades, several *religious and military orders* owe their rise. Some time before the first crusade, an hospital was established at Jerusalem, for the relief of the poor pilgrims who resorted there. In 1100, Gerard, the director of it, and his companions, professed themselves members of the order of St. Benedict, and formed a congregation, under the name of St. John the Baptist. It was approved by pope Paschal the 2d. In 1113, Raymond du Puy, the successor of Gerard, divided the order into three classes; to the nobles, he assigned the profession of arms, for the defence of the faith and the protection of pilgrims; the ecclesiastics were to exercise

their religious functions for the benefit of the order; the lay-brothers were to take care of the pilgrims and the sick. These regulations were approved by pope Calixtus the 2d; and the order then took the name of Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. After the loss of the Holy Land, they retired to Cyprus; thence to Rhodes: in 1522, that island was taken from them, by Solyman the Great: Malta was then given them by the emperor Charles the fifth; from that time they have generally been known by the appellation of *Knights of Malta*.

The order of *Knights Templars* was established nearly about the same time, and for the same purposes, as that of the Knights of Malta. They took their name from a monastery given them by Baldwin the second king of Jerusalem, which immediately adjoined the temple in his palace. They were suppressed by the council of Vienne, in 1312. Few events in history are more

singular than that of their dissolution: the enormities of which they were accused, exceed belief, and it seems difficult to impute them generally to the order; on the other hand, they appear to have had the very fairest trial.

The *Teutonic order* was founded on the model of that of the Knights Templars. It was confirmed by pope Celestine in 1191. The knights conquered Prussia in 1230, and fixed the head seat of the order at Marienburgh. In 1525, the grand master embraced the protestant religion: since which time the head seat of the order has been at Margentheim, in Franconia.

The original object of the *order of St. Lazarus*, was to take care of persons infected with leprosy; in the course of time, it became a military order; the whole body returned with St. Lewis, into Europe in 1254. Afterwards it was united, in France, with the order of our Lady of Mount Carmel, and in Savoy, with the order of St.

Maurice. All these orders displayed heroic acts of valour in the enterprizes of the crusaders to recover the holy land.

VI. 3. The first *victory* of importance which, after the crusades, the christian princes gained over the Ottomans, was at the sea fight of Lepanto. In about a century afterwards the Turks invaded Hungary, with an army of 200,000 men, and laid siege to Vienna; John Sobieski, the king of Poland, at the head of 50,000 men, attacked their camp and obtained a complete victory over them, in 1689.

Since that time, however christendom may lament the extent of the territory of the Mahometan princes, she has had no cause of terror from the success of their arms.

VII.

WITH respect to THE RELIGIOUS TENETS AND LITERARY HISTORY OF THE MAHOMETANS:

VII. 1. In the same manner as the word “christendom” is used as a general denomination for all the countries inhabited by the nations who profess the religion of Christ, the word *Eslam* is a general denomination for the countries inhabited by the nations that profess the religion of Mahomet. It signifies an absolute submission of mind and body to God, and to the revelation he has made of his divine will by Mahomet, his prophet. Thus, the fundamental creed of Mahomet is described in two articles, “there is but one God, and Mahomet “is the apostle of God.” His precepts are reduced to four; prayer, preceded by purification as a necessary preparation, fasting, alms, and a pilgrimage, once at least in a life, to the temple of Mecca. His disciples are taught to expect a day of resurrection and general judgment: they believe the doom of infidels will be everlasting punishment, to be measured by the degree of their moral guilt and obstinacy in rejecting the

evidence offered them of Eslamism; but that all believers, by their faith in God, and through the intercession of Mahomet, will be admitted to everlasting felicity; that, while the felicity of the perfect, as the saints and martyrs, will be the enjoyment of a superlative degree of intellectual pleasure, the general body of Musselmauns will be blessed with an abundance of sensual enjoyments. They believe in God's absolute decrees, and the predetermination both of good and evil; in the existence of angels, whom they consider to be ministers of the word of God, pure and subtile spirits, propagated of fire. They believe, that, from the beginning, there has been a series of prophets; that, all of them were free from great sins and even great errors; and that six of them, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet, rising in a gradation of merit, the latter always above the former, brought new dispensations of law from heaven; that each, successively, abrogated the

preceding; that, many of the prophets received from God himself, revelations in writing of his divine will, all of which are lost, except the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospel and the Koran; that the three first are miserably corrupted and falsified; that the last is divinely inspired, every word, every letter of it being uncreated and incorruptible, and subsisting, through eternity, in the essence of the deity; that, God himself, by his angel Gabriel, delivered it to Mahomet his last prophet, his high priest in spiritual concerns, his supreme prince in temporals, and who, by himself or his successors, is, by the supernatural, and consequently irresistible force of his arms, to establish in every kingdom of the world, the saving doctrine of the koran. Circumcision is not mentioned in the koran; but it is practised as a divine institution, revealed by Abraham to Mahomet. Two places they hold in particular veneration: one of them is the temple of Mecca; it con-

tains the Caaba or square house, which has been mentioned. To the temple of Mecca, every Mahometan directs his look when he prays, and this supposed aspect of it, they call the *Kebla*. The other object of their veneration, is the temple at Medina, where the prophet preached and was buried. Such are the principal tenets and rites of the Mahometans, but the only necessary article of faith, the only article required to be professed by a Musselmaun, is the unity of God, and the divine mission of Mahomet. Having pronounced the words, “I believe in
“one God, and in Mahomet the apostle of
“God,” the proselyte is considered to be a perfect Musselmaun. They look on unbelievers with contempt and abhorrence; but the Magians, as followers of Abraham, the Jews, as followers of Moses, and the Christians, as followers of Christ, are ranked by them, far above polytheists, idolaters, and atheists. In opposition to those, they call the Magians, Jews, and Christians, from

the written revelations they suppose to have been made to them, by Abraham, Moses, and Christ, the people of the written law.

The early caliphs condemned polytheists, idolaters and atheists to the alternative of death, or the profession of Eslamism, but the people of the written law were always allowed the alternative of professing Eslamism, or purchasing liberty of conscience by paying tribute; and insensibly the last alternative was generally proposed to every enemy.

The followers of Mahomet have ascribed to him both miracles and prophecies. His miracles have been said to amount to 3000, but he does not appear to have himself claimed a power of working miracles. The wonderful success of his arms, he urged as a proof of his divine mission, and contended, that none but God himself, could produce a work, which should equal the koran, in grandeur of conception, in beauty or

sublimity of doctrine, or in richness or elegance of language.

VII. 2. The revelation of *the koran*, by Mahomet's account, was made to him in parcels, and at different times. From his dictation, they were taken down in writing by his scribe. Abu Becre, his immediate successor, had a transcript of them carefully made, and deposited it with Hafsa, one of the prophet's widows. It was frequently copied. In the 30th year of the Hegira, the caliph Othman observing there was a great multitude of various readings in the copies, caused several copies to be made, with extreme care, of the exemplar deposited by Abu Becre with Hafsa. In imitation of the masoritical labours of the Jews, the Mahometans have computed every word and every letter of the koran, and introduced vowel points, which ascertain both its pronunciation and meaning. "The general doctrine of the koran," says Golius,

in *Append. ad Gram. Erp.* p. 176, (as he is translated by Mr. Sale), “ seems to be, to
“ unite the professors of the three different
“ religions, then followed in the populous
“ country of Arabia, who, for the most part,
“ lived promiscuously, and wandered with-
“ out guides, the far greater part being
“ idolaters, and the rest Jews and Chris-
“ tians, mostly of erroneous and heterodox
“ belief, in the knowledge and worship of
“ one, eternal, indivisible God, by whose
“ power all things were made, and those
“ which are not, may be; the sole supreme
“ judge and absolute lord of the creation,
“ established under the sanction of certain
“ laws, and the outward sign of certain
“ ceremonies partly of antient and partly of
“ novel institution, and enforced by setting
“ before them rewards and punishments
“ both eternal and temporal, and to bring
“ them all to the obedience of Mahomet,
“ as the prophet and ambassador of God,
“ who, after repeated admonitions, prophe-

“cies and threats of former ages, was, at
“last, to establish and propagate God’s re-
“ligion on earth by force of arms, and to
“be acknowledged chief pontiff in spiritual
“matters, as well as supreme prince in
“temporals.” The divine revelations were,
according to Mahomet, to end with him-
self; and in him, the seal of prophecy was
to be closed for ever. Frequent mention is
made in the koran of the histories contained
in the Old Testament, of those particularly,
which shew the judgments of God on un-
believers and impugnors of his holy word;
but Mahomet appears to have taken his
scriptural history rather from the apocryphal
books and traditions of the Jews and hete-
rodox christians, with whom Arabia abound-
ed in his time, than from the canonical
writings which compose the bible. (See
*Alcoranus ex variis collectus tum fontibus, tum
paludibus, Compend. Theatr. Oriental*, p. 20.)
The koran contains also many legal and
civil ordinances, as the prohibition of cer-

tain meats, wine, and usury; some, that respect the payment of debts, the laws of heirship, wills, legacies, oaths, widows, divorces, marriages, murder, fornication, adultery, theft: but the greatest part of it turns on the obligation of making war against unbelievers, with the most splendid promises to those, who fight against them, and the most dreadful threats against those who refuse. The duty of alms-giving and general benevolence is inculcated in the strongest terms. It seems generally admitted that the stile is pure and elegant: it is, however, allowed by the Arabs themselves that this is not entirely the case, and that there are different Dialects in the koran. (See *Ahmed Ibn Edris*, p. 280). It contains many passages of great sublimity; but, as Mr. Gibbon justly observes, “the harmony and
“copiousness of stile, will not, in a version,
“reach the European infidel; he will pe-
“ruse, with impatience, the endless inco-
“herent rhapsody of fable, precept and

“ declamation, which seldom excites a sen-
“ timent or idea, which sometimes crawls
“ in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the
“ clouds. The divine attributes exalt the
“ fancy of an Arabian missionary; but his
“ loftiest strains must yield to the sublime
“ simplicity of the book of Job, composed
“ in a remote age, in the same country, and
“ in the same language.” The koran con-
sists of 114 sections, called in the original,
suras. They are distinguished by titles, but
are not numbered, and are divided into
smaller portions. Seven principal exem-
plars have been made of the koran; two at
Medina, a third at Mecca, a fourth at Cufa;
a fifth at Bassorah, and a sixth in Syria;
the seventh is the exemplar from which the
common editions are taken. The Maho-
metans themselves have translated it into
the Persic, Malayan, Javan and Turkish
languages. Reineccius, (*Historia Alcorani*
Leipsiæ, 1721), says, that the most beauti-
ful manuscripts of the koran, are (1st) one

preserved in the Museum Kircherianum at Rome, supposed to have been used by Solyman the great; (2d) one, in the library of Christina of Sweden; (3d) one, in the library at Vienna; and (4th), one with a commentary by Abi Saidi Rades, which, at the defeat of the Turks, in 1683, George the then Elector of Saxony, found among the spoils of the battle. But there are others, (some of which are in England), of exquisite beauty. The first edition of the entire work in the Arabic was published by Paganinus of Brescia, at Venice, in 1530; but the whole edition, by the pope's order, was committed to the flames. It was afterwards printed by Hinckelmen, at Ham-
burgh, in 1684. Father Lewis Maracci, a clerk regular, by the order of Innocent the 11th, published the original, with a translation and full refutation, in 1698. An edition of the Arabic Koran in folio, with a Scholia in the same language, was printed at Petersburg, by order of the late Empress

of Russia, for the use of her Mahometan subjects: on account of the general prejudice of the Mahometans against printed books, she had the types so cast, as to give to the impression the appearance of a manuscript. Other editions have been promised; but none of them, to the writer's knowledge, has yet been published. The first version by a christian, was that, which Peter Abbot of Chuni, procured to be made in 1143; it was published by Bibliander in 1550; Maracci's translation of it is highly praised. A correct edition of it, with notes and an introduction, was published by Reinneccius, in 1721: of the translations into modern languages, none is to be compared to Mr. Sale's. His learned and judicious preface is universally admired.

VII. 3. *The religious sects*, into which the Mahometans are divided, are very numerous. Four of them are esteemed orthodox, and each of those has its particular station, in the temple of Mecca. They are called

Sonnites or *Traditionists*, because they admit the authority of the *Sonna*, or collection of traditions, made by the disciples of Mahomet, respecting his sayings, his actions, and even his silence on certain occasions, from which they suppose important inferences may be drawn. They also admit the authority of the *Idjma-y-umeth*, or the glosses and legal decisions of the apostles, and first disciples of the prophet; particularly the four first caliphs; and the *Keyass*, or collection of canonical decisions, made by the *Imams-mudjhtihhids*, or interpreters of the first ages of Eslamism. All the other sects are considered as heretics.

The general body of Mahometans call them *Shiites*; but, under that appellation, they particularly understand the sectaries of Ali, the 4th of the caliphs. He was the cousin of Mahomet and married Fatima, his youngest and favourite daughter. On the death of Mahomet, his relationship to the prophet and his personal merit gave

him powerful claims to the vacant throne; but, through the authority of Omar, it was conferred on Abubecre: he bequeathed it to Omar; and, on his death, it was filled by Othman. He was the third of the caliphs, and, on his decease, Ali was advanced to the office. We have seen that, after a reign of five years, Ali was assassinated; that his son, at the end of six months, was compelled to resign; that the throne was usurped by Moavia, the first of the Ommyades, and that he made it hereditary in his family. But numerous bodies of Mahometans retained a partiality for Ali, and his descendants. The three first caliphs, they consider as usurpers: they place Ali on a line, or nearly on a line with Mahomet; and, to the original creed of the Mahometans, “there is only one God, and “Mahomet is the apostle of God,” they add the article, that, “Ali is the vicar of “Mahomet.” This is the subject of political discord between the Shiites and Son-

nites, or the sectaries of Ali, and the sectaries of Omar: the principal points of difference in their religious creed, are, that the sectaries of Ali reject the Sonna and all other traditions, and profess an exclusive attachment to the koran; and that they believe, that the Immameth or sacerdotal supremacy devolved, at Mahomet's decease, to Ali, and past from him, in a regular course of male descent, to the 12th and last Imam, who still lives, and, at the second coming of Christ, will give him a joint testimony with the prophet Elias. As the Shiites, in their political tenets, adhere to Ali, the Sonnites in their politics, adhere to Omar. This is the grand schism in the history of Mahometanism. In every age, in every country subject to the disciples of Mahomet, it has been the subject of sedition and civil war. In Egypt, in Spain and in Africa, the descendants of Ali have often reigned: they now reign in Persia, in most parts of the Mahometan territories beyond

the Gihon, and in several of the Mahometan principalities in India. Religious controversy has never been carried on with more fury, or religious war with more cruelty, than in the controversies and wars between the sectaries of Ali and Omar. Each sect anathematizes the other, and believes there is more merit in putting one person of the opposite sect to death, than in destroying seventy Christians.

VI. 4. The Turkish, the Persic, the Armenian and the Arabic are *the chief languages used by the Mahometans*. The original Turkish is said to be a poor and inharmonious language, and to be used only by the lowest class of subjects. The Persic language is much cultivated by the Turks who pretend to taste or elegance. The Arabic is almost a necessary language to a Mahometan, as it is the language of the koran, and all the early writings of the followers of Mahomet. The modern Turkish is the language of the court, and of all per-

sons of education. All the emperor's edicts, and all the edicts of his ministers are written in that language. The Chevalier D'Ohsson, in his splendid work, *Tableau Général de L'Empire Othoman*, says it is a noble and harmonious language.

VI. 5. The dynasty of the Abassides introduced *learning among the disciples of Mahomet*; and, while the rest of Europe was destitute of polite literature, and the greatest part of it sunk in ignorance and barbarism, the arts and sciences flourished from Samarcand and Bochara to Fez and Cordova. The royal library of the Fatimites at Cairo contained above 100,000 manuscripts: 600,000 are said to have existed in the Eslamitic libraries in Spain: “Cordova,” to use Mr. Gibbon's words, “with the adjacent towns of Malaga, Almeria, and Murcia, gave birth to more than 300 writers, and above 70 public libraries were open in the cities of the Andalusian kingdom. The age of Arabian learning con-

“tinued about 500 years, till the great ir-
“ruption of the Moguls, and was coeval
“with the darkest and most slothful period
“of European annals; but, since the sun
“of science has arisen in the west, it should
“seem that the oriental studies have lan-
“guished and declined.” Still, however,
the protection and encouragement of litera-
ture, is a declared object of the Ottoman
government. In all great towns each mosque
has one, and sometimes two colleges be-
longing to it: they are called Medresses.
From these the principal officers of church
and state are taken. Most of the mosques
in the great cities of the empire have pub-
lic libraries; Constantinople alone, accord-
ing to the Chevalier D’Ohsson, contains
35: and each of them holds from 1000 to
2500 volumes, bound in red, green or black
morocco, inclosed in a morocco case; each
library is furnished with a catalogue. The
seraglio has two libraries. They may con-
tain many latin, greek and oriental manu-

scripts: Europe, at different times, has been flattered with the hope of discovering in them the original gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew, all the decades of Livy, and all the books of Diodorus Siculus. This, however, is mere conjecture. About the year 1726, printing was introduced into Constantinople. The Muphti and the principal Oulemas solemnly pronounced it to be a lawful and useful institution, and a royal edict was published authorizing Said Essendi and Basmadjy Ibrahim, the former, a clerk in the customs, the latter, an Hungarian renegado, to print any works, except the koran, the hadis, (or oral laws of the prophet), the commentaries on them, and works of jurisprudence. The patentees printed jointly ten different works. Afterwards Basmadjy Ibrahim printed ten, on his own account, and two great charts, one of the Black, the other of the Caspian sea. He was a man of talents, and an enthusiast in his endeavours to introduce the arts and

sciences of Europe among the Turks. He was patronized by the Porte, and was presented with a military fief, and a pension of ninety-nine aspars, or half farthings of our money, a day. His death suspended the labours of the Turkish press: it was revived by an edict of the Porte in 1784, and was resumed by the publication of an history of the Ottoman empire: it was completed in three volumes, and finishes with the death of Abdul Hamed in 1788.

VIII.

WITH respect to THE EXTENT OF THE COUNTRIES WHERE MAHOMETANISM IS PROFESSED:

On the north, it has been carried to the point, where the Ouralian and Altai mountains meet: thence it may be traced, over little Bucharia, to the southernmost point of Hindustan: and thence in a south-easterly direction, to Goram, (a small island between Ceram and Papua or New Guinea), in

which there are not fewer than eight mosques. It is also spread over every country from the Hellespont to the Indus, and from the Arabian to the Persian Gulph; it is professed on each side of the Nile; and in the west of Africa, the line between the Mahometans and Pagans, according to Mr. Park, extends up the river Senegal, to St. Joseph or Galam, lat. 14. 20; and thence in a waving line, it proceeds to and includes Tombuctoo. In the east of Africa, it is professed in part of Madagascar, and the opposite shores.

The Mahometans have lost Spain; and, on the north, their progress has been checked by the propagation of Christianity in Siberia; but, in the middle and lower Asia, it has always been gaining ground; so that, speaking generally, from the commencement of the Hegira to the present time, Mahometanism has always been on the increase.

Such is the general view of the actual

extent of Mahometanism, it naturally leads to a view of its most important part,—the Ottoman Empire. That is divided into the portion of it, which lies in Asia; that, which lies in Africa, and that, which lies in Europe. Turkey in Asia lies between the 27th and 46th degrees of east longitude, and the 28th and 45th of north latitude. It is bounded by the Black sea and Circassia on the north, by the Red sea, Arabia, and the Persian Gulph on the south, and by the Archipelago, the Hellespont and the Propontis on the west. Turkey in Africa is confined to Egypt; that part of the Ottoman empire lies between the 20th and 32d degrees of north latitude, and the 28th and 36th degrees of east longitude. It is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean sea, on the south by Abyssinia, on the east by the Red sea, and on the west by the desert of Barca, and by some unknown parts of Africa.

The European part of the Ottoman empire lies between the 16th and 41st degree

of east longitude, and between the 36th and 50th degree of north latitude. It fills the space between Russia, Poland, and Sclavonia on the north; and the Mediterranean on the south; the Austrian and Venetian territories, and the Gulph of Venice front it on the west; the Black sea, the sea of Marmora and the Archipelago, on the east. It contains many islands; the principal of them are Negropont or the antient Eubœa, Rhodes, Candia, Cyprus, Santorin, Samos, the Cyclades, and a cluster of islands in the Ionian sea, among which is the Isola del Compare, the antient Ithaca. The present condition of this noble and ample territory, once dignified by science and valour, and once the fairest portion of the Christian world, is thus described by Sir George Sandys, in his dedication to his travels:—
“ Large territories dispeopled, or thinly in-
“ habited; goodly cities made desolate,
“ sumptuous buildings become ruins; glo-
“ rious temples either subverted or prosti-

“tuted to impiety; true religion dis-
“tanced or oppressed; all nobility ex-
“tinguished; no light of learning permitted
“nor virtue cherished; violence and rapine
“exulting over all, and leaving no security,
“save to an abject mind and unlooked on
“poverty.” How very different have been
the effects of Christianity, on the countries
into which it has been introduced!

The rapid progress of Mahometanism naturally brings to mind the rapid progress of Christianity, and invites to a comparison of the two religions: but a single fact throws Mahometanism out of the scale. Each founder of these religions claimed a divine mission: to prove the divinity of *his* mission, Christ appealed to the prophets who foretold *him* and to the miracles *he* wrought: if he produced the prophets and worked the miracles, he *could not* be an impostor. Mahomet neither pretended to have been foretold by prophets nor to work miracles; he rested the proof of *his* divine mission,

solely on the success of his arms, and the sublimity of the doctrine and language of the koran; but his arms *might* be most successful, and the doctrine and language of the koran *might* be most sublime, and still Mahomet *might* be an impostor. Thus Christ offered the very fairest proof of his divine mission; Mahomet offered none of his:—the conclusion is obvious.

IX.

IT remains to MAKE SOME MENTION OF THE AUTHORS FROM WHOSE WRITINGS THE PRECEDING SHEETS HAVE BEEN COMPILED. Not a page of them was written till all that M. de Guignes, M. d'Herbelot, and Mr. Gibbon have said on the subject of it, had been repeatedly considered. The *Histoire Générale des Huns*, &c. by the first of these writers, will be an eternal monument of the depth and extent of his researches; but it is lawful to express a wish, that, for the information of his com-

mon readers, he had accompanied it with a particular account of the authors he consulted, and his own opinions of their character and value: for want of this information, notwithstanding all the respect due to M. de Guignes, it is impossible not to read parts of his work, without some degree of scepticism. His valuable essays on various subjects of oriental literature in the *Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, are entitled to a high degree of praise. Of *d'Herbelot's Dictionary* there is but one opinion. The merits and defects of Mr. *Gibbon's history* are in no part of his work more discernible, than in his account of the Saracens. Few of his readers come prepared, with much previous knowledge of the subject, to the perusal of that part of his work, which, to use his own expression, gives an account of the fleeting dynasties of the caliphs. There, of course, his style of allusion, if it may be so called, was singularly improper; and, in no other part of his work,

his prejudices against Christianity, are more frequently, or more boldly expressed; but his consummate knowledge of geography, his general and curious learning, his vigour and exquisite felicity of expression, occur in every page. In a note, (vol. v. p. 242, n. 55.) he observes, after Voltaire, the resemblance of the first Moslems and the heroes of the Iliad: between the rapid march of Islamism, and the rapid march of French Democracy, the resemblance is not less striking. In each may be found the same zeal to propagate the tenets of their sect, the same thirst of plunder, the same ardour of destruction, the same enthusiasm, and the same patient and adventurous courage: in each, instead of waiting, like the Romans, to subdue one enemy, before another was provoked, an attack was made, almost in one instant, on the greatest part of the civilized world; in neither, the dissensions of the chiefs retarded, for a moment, the progress of their soldiers. When we read

Abubeker's circular letter, "In the name
" of God. To all true believers; this is to
" acquaint you, that I intend to send the
" true believers into Syria, to take it from
" the hands of the infidels,"—it is impossi-
ble not to think of the Great Nation, send-
ing forth her Sans-Culottes to plant the
tree of liberty.—On every subject of geo-
graphy, the author consulted *d'Anville*: the
supreme merit of that excellent writer is not
too strongly expressed by Mr. Gibbon, when
he calls him the Incomparable d'Anville;
yet it may be confidently asserted, that, on
subjects of antient geography, Cellarius
may still be usefully consulted; and that
England may justly be proud of the geo-
graphical eminence of Major Rennell; his
map of Hindustan and the memoir which
accompanies it, are invaluable; his *Geo-
graphy of Herodotus* is still more curious,
and only less useful, because it illustrates
the antient, not the modern world.—The
author has also to confess great geographi-

cal obligations to Doctor Forster's *Northern Travels*, and to the *Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Antients had of India*, with which Doctor Robertson, with so much honour, closed his literary career. In antient chronology he generally followed *Archbishop Usher*; in modern, the Benedictine authors of the *Art de vérifier les dates*, the work of the greatest learning which appeared in the last century. In his account of antient Persia, he availed himself of what has been written on the subject, by *Sir William Ouseley* and *Sir William Jones*: and on that, and many other occasions, he consulted the *Antient Universal History*, a work of great merit, and perhaps not sufficiently valued: when the troubles in Flanders first broke out, a translation of it into the French language was in contemplation, and gave rise to the *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, 8vo. 1780, of Abbé Mann; which, if a new edition of it should be thought of, will be found to deserve atten-

tion. In his account of Africa, the author found *Cheniers Recherches Historiques sur les Maures* very useful: in his short account of the irruptions of the Barbarians into the Roman empire, he found much valuable information compressed into a narrow space, in the *Tableau des Revolutions de l'Europe dans le moyen age*, by M. Koch, Strasburgh, 1790, 2 vol. 8vo. On the heterodox opinions on the subject of the Trinity and Incarnation he consulted the *Dogmata Theologica* of *Petavius*, a work which has extorted the praise of Mr. Gibbon.

The author's account of the early state of Arabia, and the early part of Mahomet's life, was taken from *Niebuhr*, from the *Memoire sur l'etablissement de la religion et de l'empire de Mahomet*, of M. Bréquigny, in the 32d volume of the *Memoires des Inscriptions*, and from a *Dissertation* of M. de Boisy, *de l'Idolâtrie d'Abraham, avant sa vocation*, published with his other *Dissertations* in two octavo volumes, Paris 1785.

On these subjects he also consulted Mr. *Sale*, in praise of whom too much cannot be said; *Volney* and *Savary* have little more than copied or translated him; and he availed himself of *Professor White's* elegant and eloquent sermons. What is said on the conquests made by Mahomet and his companions, is taken from Mr. *Ockley's History of the Saracens*;—that a person, of so much learning, should have been permitted to languish within the walls of a prison, was a disgrace to England, and a general misfortune to the republic of letters. The author's account of the universal caliphs, was extracted from *Marigny's Histoire des Arabes*, a work which answered the author's purpose, but which would not suffice for a writer, who should wish to enter more fully into the subject.

The mention of the caliph Walid's order, that the Arabic should be substituted in the place of every other language through the whole territory of the caliphate, led the

author to give some attention to a subject, which opens a new and ample field of discussion,—the influence of conquest on language. Six events in history will be found to deserve the particular consideration of any person who shall engage in it; the Macedonian, Roman, and Saracen conquests; the emigration of the Sclavonian tribes; the general use of the French language in consequence of the victories of Lewis the 14th, and the literary merit of the writers of his reign; and the probability of the English becoming the popular idiom of the whole Western hemisphere.

What is said on the Mahometan dynasties in Persia and Egypt is taken from D'Herbelot and Volney; Mr. Gibbon observes, we are amused by Savary, and instructed by Volney; but over Volney, Savary has the advantage of understanding the Arabic originals. The *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la domination des Arabes*, and the *Recherches historiques sur*

les Maures furnished the author with what he has said on the Mahometan dynasties in Africa and Spain. The account of the Mahometan conquests in Hindustan is taken from *Colonel Dow's History of Hindustan*, *Mr. Orme's Introduction to his History of Hindustan*, and *Major Rennell's Introduction to his Memoir*: where the author found these writers differ, he preferred the last. His account of the Ottoman empire is chiefly taken from the *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire Ottomane*, par M. de la Croix. Mr. de Guignes and Mr. Gibbon left him little to desire on the subjects of Genghis-khan and Timour. On the Crusades, he did not look beyond *L'Esprit des Croisades*, and *Vertot*. A good history of them is much wanted: that part of Mr. Gibbon's history which treats of them, is the worst executed portion of his work. The account of the literary history of the Ottoman empire, is taken from the *Abbé Toderini's View of Turkish Literature*, and the *Tableau Géné-*

ral de l'Empire Ottoman of the Chevalier D'Ohsson, a splendid and useful work.

X.

THE preceding pages may be found to contain some account of the religion of Mahomet, and of the conquests made by him and his disciples: the following may be found to give some notion of the books accounted sacred, in the infidel countries conquered by them, and some particulars respecting the Edda, the book supposed to have been accounted sacred by the antient Scandinavians.

X. 1.

Following the progress of the Mahometan arms in the East, we cross the Persian Gulph, and reach the country of the ZEND-AVESTA, the supposed Bible of the antient Persians.

The religion of the antient Persians has been discussed by many modern writers of profound learning. One of the earliest

works on the subject, is *Lord's History of the Persees*, 4to. London, 1630. Mr. Thomas Stanley's valuable treatises on the Chaldaic, Persian, and Sabian doctrines, form a part of his History of Philosophy, and have been printed separately. The writings of Dr. Pococke, particularly his *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, and his edition of *Abul-Farajus*, abound with much information on the subject. But the most learned work upon it, which has yet made its appearance, is Dr. Hyde's *Historia Veterum Persarum*, published at Oxford, first in one volume 4to. in 1700, afterwards, with additions, in two volumes 4to. 1767. A concise, but clear view of the subject, is inserted by Dr. Prideaux, in the 4th book of the first part of his *Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament*: it gave rise to a learned correspondence between him and Mr. Moyle his nephew, published in the second volume of the works of the latter. Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, and Brucker's *Historia*

Philosophiæ, throw much light on this, and every other branch of Eastern literature. In the 25th vol. of the *Histoire de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, may be found the first of the Memoires, which compose the Abbé Foucher's *Traité Historique de la Religion des Perses*; the others appeared in the subsequent volumes of that work. The year 1755-6 must be reckoned a new æra in the study of Persian Theology. M. Anquetil du Perron, happening to see a fragment of one of the sacred books of the antient Persians, determined to enrich his country with a translation of it. With this design he embarked, in that year, for the East Indies: he returned to Europe in 1761. The result of his researches appeared in 1771, under the title, “ *Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, contenant les Idées Theologiques, Physiques et Morales de ce Legislateur; les Cérémonies du Culte Religieux qu’il a établi, et plusieurs traités importans relatifs a l’ancienne Histoire des Perses* :

“ *Traduit en François sur l’original Zend;*
“ *avec des Remarques et accompagné de plu-*
“ *sieurs Traités propres à éclaircir les Ma-*
“ *tieres, qui en sont l’objet.*” 2 vol. 4to, gene-
rally bound in three. The first contains an
account of his voyage and travels; it is very
interesting. His work was warmly attacked
by *Sir William Jones* in his *Lettre à M. A***
*du P***, dans laquelle est compris l’Examen*
de sa Traduction des livres attribués à Zoroas-
tre, and by *Mr. Richardson*, in his preface
to his *Arabic and Persian Dictionary*; both
of them treat it as a contemptible forgery:
but, in respect to *Sir William Jones*, *fecit*
indignatio versum; *M. Anquetil du Perron’s*
very rude and petulant attack on the Eng-
lish nation, and particularly on the late *Dr.*
Hunt of Oxford, *Sir William Jones’s* pre-
ceptor in the Eastern languages, produced
from him the retort, full of asperity, but
wholly destitute of argument. It may be
collected from his discourses before the
Asiatic Society, that he thought differently

of M. Anquetil du Perron's works in his riper years: and it certainly detracts from the weight of Mr. Richardson's testimony against them, that he pretends to no knowledge of the antient Persian; and that his knowledge of the modern Persian is questioned by able scholars. M. de Sacy seems to acknowledge the importance and authenticity of the Zend-Avesta, by his frequent appeals to it and quotations of it, and it is honourably noticed by Tyschen of Rostock, Münter of Copenhagen, and Sir William Ouseley. Two interesting memoirs relating to his work were published by M. Anquetil du Perron in the *Journal de Sçavans*, 1762—1769; and several in the *Memoires de L'Academie*. The subject is discussed, but not so fully as a curious reader must wish, by *Sir William Jones*, in his anniversary discourses. *Mr. Kleuker* has published a German translation of *M. Anquetil du Perron's Zend-Avesta*, in six volumes 4to, at Riga, 1776, 1777, 1781, 1783, a

work highly interesting to the curious in the antient theology of the Persians. It contains a German translation of the original publication of M. Anquetil du Perron, and the essays, written by him and the Abbé Foucher: but the most important part of the work, consists of the author's own historical disquisitions on the writings ascribed to Zoroaster: in them, he appreciates the claim to authenticity and antiquity, and the theological and literary merit of the Zend-Avesta. He seems to show, as far as the nature of the subject admits, that the Guebres in Persia and the Parsees in India, the supposed successors of the antient Persians, actually possess a collection of books, esteemed sacred by them, as containing the doctrines of the antient religion, and the fundamental tenets of their ancestors, and derived by them from Zoroaster, and that these are the works translated by M. Anquetil du Perron. It is much to be wished that some gentleman would favour the pub-

lic with a translation of M. Kleuker's Disquisitions. From the works we have mentioned, the following compilation has been made; it may be found to give some notion, I. of the Patriarchal Faith; II. of Sabaeism, or Planetary Worship; III. of Zoroaster; IV. of the antient Language of Persia; V. of the original Code of Law promulgated by Zoroaster; VI. of the Zend-Avesta, published by M. Anquetil du Peron; VII. of its Authenticity; VIII. of its Theology, Morality and Ceremonial; and IX. of the Revolutions of the antient Persian Creed. To distinguish them from the modern Persians, both the antient and modern professors of the doctrines of Zoroaster are called Parsees by several writers of eminence, and in these sheets are called by that name.

1. The religion of the antient Persians may be considered the first deviation from the true *Patriarchal Faith*. That consisted in the knowledge, love, and adoration of

one supreme God; in the belief that he made the world by his power, and supported it by his providence; that he had created a man and a woman, and placed them in a state of bliss, to endure for ever, if they should observe the command he gave them, to abstain from eating the fruit of a forbidden tree; that they eat of it, and were punished for their disobedience; that, by their guilt, they and their posterity incurred a total loss of the divine favour; but were to be restored to it by a divine Redeemer, who, in the fulness of time, would appear in their seed. These sublime tenets composed the whole creed of Noah, and were probably carried by Elam his grandson beyond the Tigris, into Persia. There, by degrees, the faith of his descendants was adulterated. From the contemplation of the Creator, they naturally turned to a view of the wonders of his hands, particularly the sun, the moon, and the starry host of the heavens. Brought up from our ear-

liest infancy in just notions of the Deity, we find it difficult to conceive, how the human mind can rest on these objects, however splendid, without rising to the sublime Being, who called them into existence. To the descendants of Noah, the view of them was a strong temptation to error and superstition. Job felt its force: in the solemn protestation, made by him of his integrity in the observance of his duties, he calls God to witness: “That, as he beheld the
“sun, when it shined, or the moon walking
“in brightness, his heart had never been
“secretly enticed, his mouth had never
“kissed his hand.” Among the Persians, planetary worship very soon prevailed: but, if we credit Dr. Hyde, it should not be confounded with idolatry: in his opinion, light was considered by the Persians, as the sublimest symbol of the Deity; the sun and planets, as his noblest production; fire, as his most powerful agent: in this view they paid them a religious reverence, but their

reverence for them did not go so far as adoration. From their use of fire in their religious ceremonies, they acquired the name of fire-worshippers.

2. In this state, they did not long rest: by degrees, an opinion gained ground among them, that the heavenly bodies were inhabited by beings, endowed with intelligence and power, and entitled to religious worship. These religious tenets are known by the appellation of *Sabaeism* or planetary worship. No heresy can boast such high antiquity or so long a duration. It certainly prevailed before Abraham; and, in the territory of Bassora, it is still to be found in a body of men, not very numerous, who call themselves the Christians of St. John. The reason and occasion of their assuming this appellation are unknown. Some mention of their tenets may be found in that part of the foregoing account of Mahomet and his disciples, which mentions the state of religion in Arabia, at the time of his

appearance. From Sabaeism, however, a part of the Persians kept themselves free: they were called Magians; they were not wholly free from superstitious practices, and probably both parties admitted Dualism, or the doctrine of two principles.

3. This leads to the mention of *Zoroaster*, the reformer of the Persian religion. The time in which he lived is uncertain: and some writers have supposed, that more than one person of that name, took an active and distinguished part in the revolutions of the Persian creed. On these points there is a great diversity of opinion among the learned: their opinions may be reconciled, in some measure, by supposing, that two celebrated personages appeared in Persia: one, the legislator of Persia, both in its spiritual and temporal concerns, about the time of Cyaxares the 1st; the other, the reformer of its religion, and the founder of the Magian hierarchy under Darius the son of Hystaspis; that the name of the second

was Zoroaster; and that the name of the first is unknown; but that there is a probability of his being the Heomo of the Zendish books, the Hom of the Pahlavi.

4. To the former, the Zend-Avesta, as it was originally composed, may be attributed with a high degree of probability. To obtain an accurate idea of it, some notion must be acquired of the *Languages* accounted sacred, by the present adherents to the antient Persian creed, and of the writings known or supposed to exist in any of them.

The most antient of these languages, is the *Zend*. It was probably a very early corruption of the Sanscrit. It is supposed, that by an injunction of Zoroaster, the use of it was exclusively appropriated to the Magian hierarchy: the *Pazend* is a corruption of the *Zend*, and was used in the commentaries on the *Zend*. The *Pahlavi* was the language in general use among the Persians, in the time of Zoroaster, and con-

tinued in general use, till the 5th or 6th century of the christian æra; all the remains of it are translations from the Zend, supposed to have been made during the life of Zoroaster, or soon after his decease. All the known writings in the Zend or Pahlavi languages are accounted sacred by the Parsees. Ferdusi, the Persian Homer, in his *Shah-nameh*, always supposes the kings and heroes of his country, to speak and write the Pahlavi language.

In Kerman, and the neighbourhood of the Caspian sea, the Parsees have a language peculiar to them, called the *Guebri*; it is a compound of the Zend, the Pahlavi, the modern Persian, and the languages of other neighbouring nations.^a

5. It is said that the *Code of Law promulgated by Zoroaster* was divided into twenty-one parts; that seven of them treated of the creation of the world, seven of morality, and of civil and religious duties, and seven

^a See NOTE I.

of physic and astronomy: it is said, that it was written in letters of gold, on 12,000 skins of parchment, and deposited by Gush-tasp in the great Pyræum, or fire-temple, at Persepolis: and that it was found there and destroyed by the command of a Mussulmaun chief, about the seventh century of the Christian æra. Zoroaster appears to have asserted, that it was delivered to him by the Deity: on that account, his followers called it the Avesta, or The Word; and, being written in the Zendish language, it was generally called Zend-Avesta. Later Persian and Arabic writers relate the prodigies which ushered into the world, the birth of Zoroaster, the attempts of the evil spirits to destroy him, and the miracles by which he proved his divine mission.

To the exertions of M. Anquetil du Peron, we are indebted for our first knowledge of the Zend-Avesta: his manuscripts are deposited in the national library at Paris; a similar, or perhaps a finer collection of

these works, was lately brought from Surat, and has been purchased by Sir William Ouseley.

6. The first work in the collection of M. Anquetil du Perron is the *Vendidad Sadé*. It contains, what is called the Vendidad, in a strict sense, and the *Izeshnè* and *Vispered*. The word Vendidad, means separated from the devil; and thus intimates, that the doctrine inculcated by the Vendidad is contrary to the doctrine of the devil. Sadé signifies pure and without mixture; and according to M. Anquetil du Perron, is a name given to those Zend works, which are not accompanied by a Pahlavi translation. The Vendidad Sadé, contains a dialogue between Zoroaster and Ormuzd: some parts of it contain a relation of the historical facts on which the religion of the Parsees is founded; the rest relates to their morals, policy, and ceremonial. The *Izeshnè* and *Vispered* are Liturgical Works; the first seems to signify a prayer in honour of him,

to whom it is addressed; the second, to denote the chiefs or first of every being,—the beginning of the Vispered containing addresses to them. The Izeshnè and Vispered were recited at the same time, and perhaps the Vendidad was recited with them, so as to form, together, an office, resembling the liturgies of the church of Rome and the church of England, which consist of lectures and prayers from the sacred writings, and prayers introduced by the churches themselves. The Izeshnè and Vispered are followed by the *Jeschts*, which consist of a variety of addresses, prayers, and supplications to Ormuzd, and the other celestial beings, and commemorations of them. The Jescht of Ormuzd is remarkable for the very high terms, in which, in a dialogue between himself and Zoroaster, Ormuzd describes his own power and glories. After the Jeschts, is the small and the great Sirouzè, or a collection of short prayers, addressed to the thirty heavenly spirits, who

preside over the thirty days of the month. With the Si-rouzè, the Zend-Avesta finishes. M. Anquetil du Perron has subjoined to it the *Boun-dehesh*, containing an account of the Cosmogony of the Parsees: he considers it to be a translation from the Zend, and to have been composed towards the seventh century of the Christian æra.

For our knowledge of these documents, we are indebted to M. Anquetil du Perron. We also owe to him much valuable information respecting several works, which throw much light on the theology of the Parsees. The first of these is the *Eulma-Eslam*, containing the answers made by a Parsee priest, to different questions put to him by some Mussulmaun doctors, about the 40th year of the Hegira; the *Modjmel-el-tavarikh* or the summary of histories, published in the year 1126: and the Treatise of the Religions of the East by *Shahristani*: with the last of these works Dr. Pocock, and Dr. Hyde were acquainted. The docu-

ment of most importance, on the religion of the Parsees, of which we were in possession, before M. Anquetil du Perron's publication of the Zend-Avesta, was the *Sadder*, a book used by the Magi, containing an account of the laws and precepts of the Parsees; it is divided into an hundred chapters, is written in the modern Persian, in verse, and is thought to have been composed by a Persian priest about the 16th century.

7. This leads to the important inquiry respecting the *Authenticity of the works, from which M. Anquetil du Perron translated the compilation, published by him under the title of The Zend-Avesta*. It is clear that he did not wilfully impose on the world, either a translation or supposed translation of a spurious original; that the books translated by him really exist in a Zendish original; and that he endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, and probably with success, to give a faithful translation of them. It is also

clear, that, if they are genuine, they form a small part only of the original Zend-Avesta. Thus far, there is a reasonable degree of certainty: it is probable, that the original, from which M. Anquetil's compilation was framed, is of the highest antiquity; that parts of M. Anquetil's compilations, particularly those which contain a dialogue between Zoroaster and Ormuzd, or in which Zoroaster repeats the information or precepts he received from Ormuzd, are portions of the original Zend-Avesta; it is also probable, that other parts of it, particularly those, which are in the form of prayers or invocations, are of a later date than the Zoroaster assigned to the æra of Darius Hystaspes; and it also is probable that the Zend-Avesta, in its present form, is as ancient as the Mahometan invasion of Persia; and it may, for some reasons, be assigned to the time of Artaxerxes the founder of the Sassanian dynasty.

8. To obtain an accurate notion of the

religion of the Parsees, it is necessary to consider their *Mythology*, *Morality* and *Ceremonial*.

Under the name of *Zerouane*, or Time without bounds or beginning, they recognized a first and original Being. That by him and in him, they believed the universe to exist, appears sufficiently clear: but they seem to have considered him rather as a Principle, giving motion to a machine, or an impulse of fate, than a real object possessed of wisdom, independence and energy. From him, *Ormuzd* and *Ahriman* proceeded; each independent of the other, each possessed of the power of creation. *Ormuzd* is the being absorbed in excellence, living in primæval light, good in his essence, the cause of all good; *Ahriman* was originally good, but, from envy against *Ormuzd*, became a *Dew*, that is, wicked; was hurled down into darkness, is evil, is the cause of all evil: his throne is in *Duzah's* depths,—the thickest darkness. *Ormuzd* formed

mankind for virtue and happiness; the malice of Ahriman plunges him in vice and misery; whatever is good in the moral or physical world, is the production of Ormuzd; all that is bad, is the production of Ahriman. The opposition of their nature produces a necessary conflict between them: twelve thousand years were to pass from the first creation of Ormuzd and Ahriman; during the first 3000 of them, Ahriman was to remain inactive; the conflict was then to begin, and during the next 3000 years, Ormuzd was to have the advantage; in the following 3000 years, Ormuzd and Ahriman were to be alternately victorious; in the last 3000, Ahriman was to prevail, till, at the end of them, Ormuzd was to gain the ascendant, and to obtain a complete victory over Ahriman and his powers: but Ahriman shall himself finally undergo a purgation in metallic fiery streams: he shall then be reconciled to Ormuzd, and join with him in singing praises to the Being of

Beings. To protect the beings, he intended to create, from the attacks of Ahriman, Ormuzd created seven *Amshaspands*, or Celestial Beings, through whose ministry he should communicate his favours to man; he also created several celestial beings of an inferior degree called *Izeds*, of whom *Mithra*, the being of light, whose habitation is between the sun and the moon, is the most illustrious: the second, *Korshid*, the Sun, great, immortal, the eye of Ormuzd, has four horses, and finishes his course in 365 days. Next to these, he created the *Ferouers*, or that part of every created being which partakes of the divinity, answering to the *νοῦς*, which the Greek philosophers called the superior or divine part of the soul, in opposition to the *ψυχὴ*, its inferior or terrene part. Ormuzd also created the sun, moon, stars, and the four elements; first the light, then the water which covered the whole earth, and was, by an heavenly wind, driven upwards, and formed the

clouds; then the earth. In mean time Ahriman was not inactive: he created a large number of evil and filthy beings called *Dews* or *Dwes*, *Peries*, *Daroujes* and *Darvands*. From the continual conflict between good and evil spirits, arises the mixture of good and evil observable in the world, in which every Parsee considers himself as a soldier, under the banners of Ormuzd, engaged against Ahriman.—With the evil spirits Ahriman attacked Ormuzd, and maintained against him, a fight of ninety days, at the end of which, Ormuzd pronounced the *Honover*, or Divine Word,—at the sound of it they fled back to their primæval darkness: then Ormuzd created *the first Ox*; it was destroyed by Ahriman; from him *Kaiomorts*, or the first man, proceeded; the Dews slew him, a tree sprung out of his seed, from which a man and woman arose, called *Meschia* and *Meschiane*. At first, they were pure immortal beings, and obedient to Ormuzd: but Ahriman was

envious of their happiness: to seduce them, he assumed the form of a serpent, presented them fruit, engaged them in conversation with him, and persuaded them he was the creator of the universe; they believed in him; their nature was corrupted, and their corruption infects all their posterity. Ormuzd supplies them with force sufficient to resist the attacks of Ahriman; at their decease, if the good overbalances the evil they have done, they are, as an intermediate state, admitted to a paradise of spiritual and temporal delights, proportioned to the degree of their respective merits; if their evil actions preponderate, they are condemned to suitable suffering: but all this is temporal; at the end of the 12,000 years, from the creation of Ormuzd and Ahriman, the time fixed by *Zerouane* for the general resurrection, the former will be victorious; the harmony of the universe will be re-established, and mankind restored to virtue and eternal happiness; the wicked must,

however, first undergo a purification by passing through streams of metallic fire.

The Morality of the Zend-Avesta is entitled to praise;—purity of word, action, and thought, is repeatedly inculcated; an attention to truth is likewise particularly enforced; Ahriman is a liar and the father of lies. To multiply the human species, increase its happiness, and prevent evil, are the general duties inculcated by Zoroaster to his disciples. Agriculture and the multiplication of useful animals are particularly recommended them: “He,” says Zoroaster, “who sows the ground with diligence, “acquires a greater stock of religious merit, “than he could gain by repeating ten thousand prayers.” On the other hand, too great an attention to gain is reprobated in the strongest terms; “There is not,” says Zoroaster, “a greater crime than to buy “grain and delay selling it, till it becomes “dear, that it may be sold for a greater “price.” The disciple of Zoroaster is en-

joined to pardon injuries, to honour his parents, and the king, (whose rights are all derived from Ormuzd, and who is on earth, what the first Amshaspand Bahman is in heaven), to respect old age, to observe a general gentleness of manners, to practise universal benevolence. All ranks and descriptions of people are supposed to have their respective heads, in imitation of the hierarchy of Ormuzd, as the Priests, people, and even the women, there being also female *Izeds*, at the head of which are Saspandomad, Asching and Parvand. The King himself is likewise bound by the laws, at least in theory, though his decisions are irrevocable. Fasting, and to the men, celibacy are forbidden; and, as far as may depend on themselves, the latter is discouraged in women: if a man's wife be not barren, one wife only is allowed him; a marriage with his cousin-german is recommended to him, as an act particularly pleasing to Heaven.

The Religious Ceremonial of the Parsees must take up a considerable portion of their time; and, on many occurrences both of business and pleasure, press inconveniently upon them. Offerings are required, chiefly of clothes for the Priests, and of flesh and fruits. The Primitive Word addressed by Ormuzd to Zoroaster partook of the divine essence; to read and study it incessantly, is considered by them a return due for so great a favour. The prayers of the Zend-Avesta often begin with an humble confession of sin or imperfection: they are addressed to the Time without bounds, to Ormuzd, the Amshaspands, the Izedes, the Ferouers, and the Elements. Fire was considered by Zoroaster as the purest symbol of the Divinity, and the original element from which Ormuzd produced all beings; he therefore enjoined his disciples, to keep up a perpetual fire, and to perform their devotional exercises in the presence of fire, and every supposed corruption of fire is

forbidden under the severest penalties. To every act of devotion, purity of heart is necessary; and to purity of heart, Zoroaster supposes purity of body greatly contributes; with this view, he prescribed a multitude of minute observances; for some of them, as their frequent washings, a reason may be found in the nature of the climate or some other economical, or political, reason;—such is the injunction to destroy a number of noxious animals, said to be produced by Ahriman, as Tigers, and Scorpions; and the prohibition of Beef, as food, on account of its supposed unwholesomeness; but many of them seem arbitrary and trifling; the omission of them is declared to be a grievous sin, not inferior in guilt to the violation of the most important duties of morality, and only to be expiated by the heaviest punishment. Everything, which related to religion or its concerns is placed under their priests; they were formed into a regular Hierarchy not

unlike the hierarchy of the Christian church; and are now, as they were formerly, divided into three orders; large tracts of land were assigned for their support, and they were entitled to a tithe of all the property of their disciples.

The most exceptionable part of the religious system of the Parsees is its *religious intolerance*. From its establishment under Darius Hystaspes, to its fall under Isdegertes, the last of the Sassanian dynasty, the exercise of every mode of religious worship, except that of Zoroaster, was prohibited throughout Persia, under the severest penalties; and the Magi, appear to have been disposed rather to increase than lessen the severity of the law.

9. What has been said may be thought to present some view of the *History of the Persian Creed*, during its two first periods,—that which preceded, and that which began with Zoroaster; from him, till Ardeshir or Artaxerxes, the first prince of the Sas-

sanian dynasty, seven centuries elapsed, which may be assigned for its third period;—its 4th extends from that time to the overthrow of the Persian empire by the Companions of Mahomet; its fifth and last period reaches to the present time.

The doctrines of Zoroaster soon attracted the attention of the Greeks. By an intercourse with the Greeks, such of the Magi as had a turn for these speculations, would naturally be led to accommodate the doctrines of Zoroaster to the polytheism of the Greek theology. The task would not be difficult: they would easily find in Ormuzd and Ahriman the subordinate Deities of the Greeks; and in the Zerouane or Time without bounds, a Jupiter, the eternal parent and sovereign of all. Their intercourse with the Jews would also have some effect on their religious belief; the sublime descriptions of Jehovah, with which the sacred writings of the Jews abound, would naturally rectify and exalt the conceptions of

the Magian priest, and insensibly lead him to ascribe to his own Zerouane, or Time without bounds, the infinite power and infinite wisdom of the God of Abraham, and to consider Ormuzd and the other celestial beings as his ministering angels. But whatever effect these sublime or ingenious speculations might have on a few philosophers, the Persian nation at large adhered to the religion of the Magi: its natural tendency however was Planetary Worship; that insensibly gained ground on the nation; it corrupted the antient doctrines, it gave rise to a multitude of sects; all of them professed to revere the name of Zoroaster, and each claimed to be the only true observer of his doctrines. To put an end to these disputes, Artaxerxes summoned a general meeting of the Magi; they are said to have met to the number of 80,000: by successive operations they were reduced to 40,000, to 4000, to 400, and ultimately to 7: one of them drank three cups of soporiferous

wine presented him by his brethren, fell into a long sleep, awoke, related his conference with the Deity, and announced to the king and magi, the Deity's avowal of the divine mission of Zoroaster, and the authenticity of the Zend-Avesta.

From that time, till its conquest by the Mahometans, the whole kingdom of Persia was faithful to the doctrine of Zoroaster. It is a principle of the Mahometan religion to tolerate all religions which recognize the unity of God. In the eye of the Mahometans, the Parsees appeared to worship the sun and to worship fire: on this ground they destroyed the fire-temples and altars of the Parsees, and insulted the Magi; but they carried their persecution no further: by degrees, they allowed the Parsees the free enjoyment of their places of worship, on paying tribute. For several centuries the Pyræums subsisted in Media and Bactriana; and they still subsist in Kirman,

Surat, Bombay, and the neighbourhood of Ispahan.

X. 2.

ADVANCING eastward from Persia, we immediately touch on HINDUSTAN, where, to use Mr. Lord's picturesque and accurate language, "a people present themselves to
" our eyes, clothed in linen garments, some-
" what low descending, of a gesture and
" garb, we may say, maidenly and well nigh
" effeminate, of a countenance shy and
" somewhat estranged, yet smiling out a
" glozed and somewhat bashful familiarity."

The following lines may be found to give some notion, 1st, of the Geography; 2dly, of the Antient History of Hindustan; 3dly, of the Antient Philosophy of the Indians; 4thly, of the Vedas, the books accounted sacred by the Hindus, and of several Books held by them in great veneration; and 5thly, some mention of the supposed ages of these writings.

1st. Considering *Hindustan*, in the very largest sense, in which that word is used, it answers to the India infra Gangem of the Antients: or the country bounded on the north, by the Tartarian and Thibetian mountains; on the south, by the sea; on the west, by the Indus; on the east, by a supposed line extending to the north, from the Ganges. The country bordering on the eastern side of the Indus made a part of one of the Satrapies of Darius Hystaspes; but, speaking generally, the Indus was the easternmost boundary of the Persian empire, and all the country beyond it was divided into a number of kingdoms or states.

2nd. Of the *Antient History of Hindustan*, or any other part of the country to the east of the Indus, we know little. About 160 years after the reign of Darius Hystaspis, Alexander the Great advanced, with his army, into India: that point of the Hyphasis or Beeyah, where it receives the Setlegè

or Setooder, was the scene of the memorable refusal of Alexander's army to follow him. On his death, Seleucus made himself master of the Persian empire; and, turning his attention to India, sent Megasthenes, in the character of ambassador, to Palibothra, the capital of the Prasii, or the country watered by the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. After this, with the exception of some occasional mention of accidental circumstances, which show the nature of the commercial intercourse of the Romans with the east, from the time they established their dominion in Egypt, history is almost silent on the subject of India, till the conquest of it by the Mahometans.

To the antient and high civilization of the inhabitants of India, sacred and profane history bear ample testimony. The permanent singularity of their institutions is a circumstance peculiar to them; the most early and most modern writers agree in giving the same account of the classes of

society into which they are divided; of their religious opinions, of their habits, morals, and manners. The classes of society among them, are 1st, that of the Bramins, the most noble or sacred tribe, and the only persons allowed to officiate in the priesthood; 2d, that of the Khettre, or military men; 3dly, that of the Bise, or merchants or tradesmen; and 4thly, that of the Soodra, the husbandmen and menial servants. Beneath all these, are the Chandalahs; they are held in utter detestation by the other tribes, and are employed only in the meanest and vilest offices. A curious account of these distinctions and their subdivisions, is given by Mr. Colebrooke, in his enumeration of Indian classes, in the fifth volume of Asiatic Researches.

3. *The Philosophy of the Indians* was famous in Greece. From Strabo, Porphyry, Apuleius, Arrian, and Palladius, we learn, that the Antients supposed them divided into sects, of which the Brachmans and

Samaneans were the most famous. They are described to have lived in retirement, to have avoided any intercourse with mankind, to have abstained from wine and animal food, to have practised great bodily austerities, and to have endeavoured, by assiduous prayer, meditation, and abstraction from terrene objects, to raise themselves to an incessant communion with the Deity. They probably were free from idolatry, and appear to have aimed at a sublime simplicity, above visible objects and natural feelings. At a time, probably not much more recent than the reign of Darius Hystaspis, an Indian philosopher of the name of Buddha arose in India, or some of the adjacent islands. Comparing what the Siamese, Chinese, and Japanese relate of Sommonacodom, Fohi, and Xaha, it is not improbable, that Buddha, Sommonacodom, Fohi, and Xaha, was the same person; that he was the author of a mythological system, which the initiated or adepts might,

by emblematical explanation, reconcile with philosophy; but which, in the sense in which it was received by the people at large, was the very rankest idolatry. From this species of superstition the Hindus appear to be free; but their religious system is equally objectionable: the author of it seems wholly unknown.

4. The religious tenets of the Indians are comprised in several books called *Vedas*. They are written in the Sanscrit, a language once general in Hindustan; but which, after the invasion of it by the Mahometans, ceased to be a spoken language. All who have acquired the knowledge of it, mention it, as the most copious and excellent language which has yet come into notice. The *Vedas*, and the language in which they are written, are held so sacred, that no sect but that of the Bramins is permitted to read the former, or learn the latter. The emperor Ackbar could not, either by promises or threats, prevail on the Bramins to dis-

close their religious credence. But their firmness has yielded to the courtesy and philosophical solicitations of the English established in Hindustan, and we have the satisfaction to hear from Sir William Jones, that the Bramins are now as willing to give, as the English to receive information on their religious tenets. Of this liberal disposition the English have availed themselves; it would be difficult to point out a period, during which, more valuable communications have been made to the literary world, than that which has elapsed since the first institution of the society instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the history of the antiquities of the arts, sciences, and literature of Asia:^b yet, without undervaluing in the slightest degree, the merit of their literary exertions, it may be doubted whether hitherto they have succeeded so much in fixing a complete and consistent system, respecting the sacred, profane, and phi-

^b See NOTE II.

losophic history of Asia, as in shewing the imperfection of the received opinions upon it.

The Vedas contain 100,000 stanzas, of four lines each: they treat of divination, astronomy, natural philosophy, the creation of the world, religious ceremonies, prayers, morality, and piety, and include hymns in praise of the Supreme Being, and in honour of subaltern intelligences. They are distinguished by the names of the Rik, the Yajur, the Sám, and the Atharvan ^c Vedas. The Hindus, suppose that one of them came from each of the four mouths of Brama. Colonel Polier obtained a complete copy of them, and generously presented it to the British Museum.^d

From the Vedas are deduced the four *Upavédas*, called by the Hindus the Ayush, Gandarva, Dhanur, and St'hapatya; the first treats of medicine, and is supposed to have been delivered to mankind by Bramha Indra

^c See NOTE III.

^d See NOTE IV.

Dhanwantari, and five other deities: the 2d treats of music, and is said to have been invented or explained by Bharata: the 3d Upavéda, composed by Viswamitra, treats of the fabrication and use of the weapons of war of the military tribe: the 4th, containing various treatises on the mechanical arts, was revealed by Viswacarman.

If the expression may be used, the Vedas are the scriptures, the Upavédas are the subscripts of the Hindus.

Six *Vedangas* or bodies of learning are derived from these sources; they were written by different holy men, and treat of pronunciation, religious ceremonies, grammar, prosody, astronomy, and the difficult phrases in the Vedas.

Subordinate to these are, 1st, the *Puranas*, a series of mythological histories in blank verse, from the creation of the world to the supposed incarnation of Buddha; 2dly, the *Dherma*, consisting of various works relating to the jurisprudence of the

Hindus; and 3dly, the *Dersana*, consisting of several works on different subjects of their philosophy.^f

An extract from the Vedas has been published lately by M. Anquetil du Perron, under the title "*Oupnekat*," (*id est, Secretum Tegendum*) "*opus ipsâ in Indiâ rarissimum, continens antiquam et arcanam seu Theologicam et Philosophicam doctrinam, e quatuor sacris Indorum Libris, Rak Beid, Djejr Beid, Sam Beid, Arthrbân Beid, excerptam, ad verbum, et Persico idiomate Sanskreticis vocabulis intermixto, in Latinum conversum, dissertationibus et annotationibus difficiliora explanantibus illustratum, studio et opera Anquetil du Perron, Indicopleustæ. Tom. I. and II. 4to. Argentorati et Parisiis.*"

A much more intelligible, and, perhaps, a much abler translation of this work, made by Mr. Halhed, through the medium of a Persian translation, is deposited in the Bri-

^f See NOTE V.

tish Museum. It is observable that in the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, Ed. 1781, it is explicitly asserted, 1st, that the Vedas were in the hands of the missionaries: 2dly, that a copy of them was in the king of France's library: 3dly, that there was an Arabic translation of them. 13 vol. p. 394. 437. 14 vol. p. 6. 65. Father Pons's Letter, to which the last of these references are made, deserves a serious perusal.^s

Among the Dhermas or works of law, none are held by the Hindus in such veneration, as the *Institutes of Menu*; a system of religious and civil duties which the Hindus firmly believe to have been promulgated by Menu, the son or grandson of Brama. A translation of it has been lately published by Sir William Jones.

For another work, we are indebted to Mr. Hastings.—A noble spirit of enlarged policy prompted him to procure a code of the laws and customs of the Hindus. For

^s See NOTE VI.

this purpose he assembled Bramins from every part of the country, at Fort William in Calcutta: and, under his auspices, they composed, from the Vedas and other authentic books, a code of their laws and customs, in the Sanscrit language. It was translated, with scrupulous accuracy, into the Persian; and from the Persian, with the same scrupulous accuracy, it was translated, by Mr. Halhed, into English. It was published in 1777, under the title of *A Code of Gentoo Laws; or, Ordinations of the Pundits. From a Persian translation, made from the original, and written in the Sanscrit language, 4to. Lond. 1776.* With the single exception of the Scriptures, it is the most valuable present which Europe ever received from Asia.^h

5. Several attempts have been made to discover the *æra of the first foundation of the Indian empire, and to settle the different ages of the publications we have mentioned.* The

^h See NOTE VII.

most specious system, on these subjects, which has yet appeared, is that of Sir William Jones. He traces the foundation of the Indian empire above 3800 years from the present time; the highest age of the Yajur Veda to 1580 years before the birth of our Saviour, or 100 years before the time of Moses; and the highest age of the Institutes of Menu, to 1280 years before the birth of our Saviour. The opinions of M. Freret and M. Bailly are nearly the same: but Sir Wm. Jones admits these to be the highest possible dates which can be assigned to the works in question; and, in fixing the æras of the Vedas and the Institutes of Menu, he does not speak of them as existing, at the period he assigns to them, in the form we now have them; he considers them to have then been in a state of traditional existence.—Such is the outline of Sir William Jones's system; but it is impossible not to wish, that the facts upon which, on this and other occasions, he builds his pre-

mises, were established with more certainty, and that the conclusions he deduces from them were supported by inferences and arguments less nicely spun. The age of the Puranas is still more uncertain; their pretensions to high antiquity seem powerfully attacked by Mr. Bentley, in his Dissertation, in the sixth volume of the Asiatic Researches, on the Suryá Siddhanta: and his arguments indirectly affect the supposed high antiquity of the Vedas.

Besides—the Geography of the Bramins is admitted by all to be fanciful and absurd in the extreme. Now, if the Bramins could give so much loose to their imaginations in the severest of all sciences; if they could be so grossly ignorant in things which lay perpetually before them, how much more extravagance and error must be expected from them in the sciences of astronomy and chronology, as loosely as all those sciences have ever been treated in India?

All, who take an interest in the advance-

ment of useful or elegant learning, must anxiously wish that Asiatic literature should meet with every species of encouragement. Generally speaking, in literature as in commerce, the public is the best patron: and the adventurer seldom succeeds so well, as when he is left to his own exertions: but sometimes it happens that particular encouragement is necessary, and premiums, advances and bounties have their use. The infant state of Asiatic literature, the small number of those who can devote their time to the study of it, and the difficulty and expence attending the acquisition of it, seem to make this one of the cases in which the public should stimulate the exertion of the individual, by lessening the expence and smoothening the difficulty of his pursuits, and by multiplying the means of his success. A sum of money, the appropriation of which to such a purpose, would be felt neither in England nor in Asia, and which would scarcely be discernible in an Indian budget,

would, if judiciously expended in defraying the charges of scientific and observing travellers, in engraving curious and instructive objects of art, and particularly in procuring faithful translations of original works of acknowledged value, open to us, in a few years, the choicest treasures of the east. Such a measure would be worthy of the merchant kings, to whom exclusively, as the best managers of it for the public welfare, the British nation trusts her Asiatic trade. Under their auspices, the British arms have triumphed in almost every territory between the Indus and the Ganges, and each shore of the Peninsula, has been tributary to British commerce. That to deserve well of their country is their earnest wish, we all know; now power or superfluous wealth is seldom so well employed, as in the encouragement of those, whose labours increase the knowledge, refine the taste, or elevate the genius of their countrymen: and if they are desirous of

fair fame, they must be sensible that the most certain method of obtaining it, is to connect their names with great literary institutions, and to secure the gratitude of the artist and the scholar.

X. 3.

LEAVING Hindustan, we must take a north-eastern course, to arrive at CHINA, and consider the several books accounted sacred in that country. Something should be premised, 1st, on the origin and antiquity of its empire: 2dly, on the geographical notions which the antients entertained of it; and 3dly, on the rise and progress of the intercourse between it and Europe.

1. *The origin and antiquity of the empire of China* are among the questions, which have exercised, in a particular manner, the ingenuity of the learned. After much discussion, six things appear to be settled, with some appearance of precision:—1st,

that the most probable opinion, respecting the origin of the Chinese, is, that China was first peopled from Hindustan: this is the universal belief of the learned of Benares, and is confirmed by a passage, cited for the purpose, by Sir William Jones, from the Institutes of Menu, a work, which, in a question of this nature, is of the very highest authority; 2dly, that the first known seat of the Chinese is Chinsi, the most north-western province of the present empire of China; 3dly, that, adopting the chronology of the Septuagint, the æra of the Chinese empire may be fixed, with some latitude of calculation, at 2,500 years before Christ; 4thly, that, with the same latitude, its historical æra may be fixed at 800 years before Christ; 5thly, that the actual form and extent of the Chinese government, may be dated from the dynasty of Hane, 206 years before Christ; 6thly, and that, to repel the invasion of the Huns, the celebrated Wall

of China was built about a century before the accession of that dynasty.

2. In respect to its *Geography*, it already has been observed, that the geographical knowledge of the Greeks did not extend, in the north-eastern parts of Asia, much beyond the Imaus or Caf. The geographical knowledge of the Romans extended much farther; their *Serica regio* probably was a part of the *Scythia extra Imaum*, and stretched from the Altai mountains, over the country of Chami, to Kantcheou in a north-western part of the province of Chinsi. Till d'Anville asserted and established a contrary opinion, modern geographers supposed the *Sinarum regio*, corresponded with China: but he appears to prove its correspondence with Cochin China.

3. The antient Roman historians are wholly silent on the subject of any *political relations between Rome and China*; the indefatigable industry of M. de Guignes,

(*Mem. de l'Académie, Tom. xxxii. p. 355*), has proved that there was an occasional intercourse between them from the Chinese writers; and Ptolemy, Ammianus Marcellinus, and other authors, show, that a considerable trade, in the article of silk, was carried on between China and the western parts of Asia, and Europe. It was managed by caravans, some of which took a northern, others a southern route: the former passed over the Great Desert to Kashgar, where Ptolemy fixes the station of the merchants, *qui ad Seres profisiscuntur*; thence, the caravans proceeded to Samarcand, and thence, through Persia, to Syria: the whole journey took up 243 days, but a great proportion of the commodity was purchased, in its passage, by the merchants of Nisibis and Armenia. The southern route took the caravans through the mountains of Thibet, to the Guzzarat, where they were met by the merchants of the west. The commerce was also carried on by sea: the ships of the

Chinese sailed from its eastern ports to Malacca, or to Achem, the Promontory of Sumatra; and, when that was not the term of the voyage, they sailed on to Ceylon, the Taprobanè of the Antients, where they were met by the merchants of the Persian Gulph and the countries adjacent. Such was the nature of the commercial intercourse between China and Europe, till the reign of the emperor Justinian, when silkworms were introduced into Europe. From that time, the intercourse between the countries gradually wore away; and, at the end of a few centuries, Europe almost wholly forgot the existence, and even the name of China. The history of the introduction of the silkworm into Europe, is one of the most pleasing parts of Mr. Gibbon's work.

4. The first writer to whom, after that time, we are indebted for an account of China, is *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, or the Indian Navigator: he performed his voyage, about the year 522; a valuable extract of

it, was given in French and Greek by Thevenot, (*Relations Curieuses*,) and the whole of it was published by Montfaucon in his *Nova Collectio Patrum*.

But the work of Cosmas Indicopleustes was soon forgotten, and Europe generally remained in ignorance of China, till about the end of the 12th century, when *John Carpin* a Polonese friar, and *Rubruquis* a French friar, penetrated into it, and, on their return, published accounts of it. In the following century, the travels of *Marco Polo*, in Tartary and China, made their appearance: what he said of China, was, at first, thought fabulous; by degrees it was more favourably received, and insensibly obtained general credit. Soon after the Portuguese doubled the Cape of Good Hope, their ships reached China; and they obtained leave to settle at Macao. Several priests of the order of St. Ignatius, advanced into different parts of the country: their knowledge of the arts and sciences recommended

them to the court; of this circumstance they availed themselves to propagate the Gospel: an account of their labours, of their vicissitudes of favour and persecution, and of many curious circumstances respecting the natural, civil, and religious history of the country, has been published by them in several works, particularly their *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, of which Fontenelle said, that he had never read a work which answered better to its title. Of the general accuracy of those letters, and the works of *Father Du Halde and Father Gaubil*, the writer has often heard the late Sir George Staunton speak in the highest terms: his testimony is certainly of great weight; and the writer avails himself with much satisfaction, of this opportunity of mentioning a gentleman, whose talents and unconquerable vigour of mind, rendered his country essential services on many important occasions, and whose many amiable and estimable qualities, will long remain in the

memory of his numerous friends, and are seen by them, with great pleasure, to survive in his son. The labours of *de Guignes*, *the Fourmonts* and *Freret*, are well known: an interesting account of the rise and progress of Chinese literature in Europe, is prefixed by Bayer, to his *Museum Sinicum*.

5. All the works of literature which the Chinese have composed are divided by them into four classes; 1st, that of *Kings*, or the *Sacred Books*; 2d, that of *Su* or *Che*, or Books of History; 3d, that of *Tsu* or *Tse*, or Books of Philosophy; 4th, that of *Feie*, or Miscellanies.

The *Kings*, or *Sacred Books*, answer to what we call Theology: they are divided into two classes; the first are five in number; the *Y-King*, the *Chou-King*, the *Chi-King*, the *Li-ki*, and *Tchun-tsieou*. The *Y-King* consists of horizontal lines, entire or cut, which are multiplied and combined into sixty-four different forms or positions: they appear involved in impenetrable mys-

tery, but some writers have affected to discover in them, the origin of all beings, the principles of natural history, and the harmony of the universe. The *Chou-king* contained the public annals of the nation: all that remains of it are fragments collected by Confucius; his object in compiling them, was to form a collection of the precepts and instructions given by princes to their ministers and subjects: a translation of it was published by Father Gaubil. *The Chi-King* is a collection of poems on different subjects; a translation of it was made by Father Gaubil, and published by M. de Guignes in 1770. The *Li-ki* contained the civil and religious ceremonial of the Chinese; all that remains of it, is an extract of it published in the reign of Ham, about 200 years before the Christian æra. The *Tchun-tsieou* is a work of Confucius which contains the annals of twelve kings, who reigned in Lou, his native country. A work, ranked among the sacred books, called the

Yo-king on the subject of music, formerly existed, but it is wholly lost. Thirty other works are called Kings; they are held in great respect, but are not deemed sacred.

The second class of the Sacred Books of the Chinese consists of *the Su-Chu, or the four Books*: they are moral writings composed by Confucius or his disciples.

Many commentaries have been written, and many dictionaries have been composed, to facilitate the intelligence of the sacred books. “They contain,” says Father Premare, (*Lettres Edif. et Cur. Tom. 21, p. 218. Ed. 1781*), “the whole of the Chinese Religion. In the fundamental doctrines of them, may be found the principles of natural law, which the antient Chinese received from the sons of Noah: they teach the reader to know and reverence the Supreme Being. Like the Patriarchs, under the unwritten law, the emperor is both king and pontiff: to him it belongs to offer, at certain times of the year, sacrifice

“ for his people; to him it belongs to pre-
“ scribe ceremonies, to decide on doctrines.
“ This alone can be called the established
“ religion of China; all other sects are con-
“ sidered by them to be extraneous, false,
“ and pernicious, and are only tolerated.
“ The Christian religion was declared law-
“ ful by a public edict; in a subsequent
“ reign, it was proscribed.” The whole of
Father Premare’s letter deserves to be read:
it is entitled to all the praise bestowed by
Montesquieu, (*Esprit des Loix*, l. 8. ch. 31),
on the letters of Father Parennin and Father
Mairan.

X. 4.

CONSIDERING the great attention which
the learned of Europe have bestowed on
the Antiquities of the North, it may be a
matter of surprise that Icelandic literature,
and particularly the EDDA, has been so
little the subject of their inquiries.—Some-
thing will be said in this place, 1st, of the

Antient History of Iceland; 2dly, of the Edda in general; 3dly, of the Edda of Sæmund; 4thly, of the Edda of Snorro; and 5thly, a short view will then be given of the Mythology of the Edda.

1. It is probable that *Iceland* was originally peopled from England or Ireland. Of its history, till it was discovered by the Norwegians about the middle of the 9th century, we know very little. It is said that the Norwegians found in it some vestiges of Christianity: in 981, a Saxon Bishop, of the name of Friederick, attempted its conversion; he was not favourably received, but, after much opposition, the whole nation was converted to the Christian faith, about the eleventh century. The Lutheran Religion was introduced into it by Christian III. in 1550. In respect to its literature, the learned generally divide it into four stages: according to them, its infancy extended to 1056, the year assigned to the final establishment of Christianity;

from that time till the year 1110, when their schools and seminaries for learning were first instituted, its literature is said by them to have been in its youth; then its manhood began, and lasted till the 14th century, when it fell to decay. In the second and third of these periods, while the greatest part of Europe was almost buried in ignorance, literature is said to have been cultivated in Iceland with great success.

2. To the Icelandic Literati we are principally indebted for what we know of *the Edda*. The learned are not agreed in their opinion, either of the meaning or etymology of that word. In a general sense it may be used to denote the antient songs or memorials, either in the Icelandic language, or in any of the antient languages of Scandinavia, which express the mythology of the North, concerning Odin and his companions. In a more limited sense it is used to denote two publications, the Edda of Sæmund and the Edda of Snorro.

So far as the writer can perceive, the scenes of all the antient songs or memorials, which compose the Eddas contained in these publications, or scattered in other works, are Danish, Swedish, or Norwegian, and never Icelandic: from this it may be inferred, that the whole system of mythology expressed in them was carried from Scandinavia to Iceland: now, as Scandinavia was converted to Christianity about the eleventh century, it seems to follow, that the Eddic mythology must have been imported into Iceland before that time. It must be added, that, this is conformable to the notion given of it by Adam of Bremen, Saxo Grammaticus, and other writers of authority; we may therefore safely conclude that the two publications demonstratively show that the Edda, in the large sense assigned to that word, contains the antient creed of Scandinavia, before its conversion to Christianity.

3. Having thus spoken of the Edda in

the most general sense which can be given to that word, we have to notice each of the two particular Eddas, which have been mentioned.

The first is the *Edda of Sæmund*:—he was born in 1056, travelled to Rome in search of knowledge, returned to his native country about 1076, and died about 1133.

To him the antient Edda, as it is called, in opposition to the Edda afterwards published by Snorro, is ascribed. Two of the most important poems in the Edda of Sæmund, the *Voluspa*, and *Haavamaal*, and a third called *Odin's Magic*, were published by Resenius in separate pamphlets. The *Voluspa* is the Oracle or Prophecy of Vola, a Scandinavian Sibyl, and contains the whole Mythology of the Edda; the *Haavamaal*, or the sublime discourse of Odin, contains, in about 120 strophes, certain lessons of morality supposed to be pronounced by Odin himself. Resenius published an edition of it from another manuscript in

1673: the difference between the editions is considerable. These poems were all we possessed of the antient Edda, till the year 1787, when the whole of the Mythologic part of it, not published by Resenius, was printed at Copenhagen, in one large quarto volume. The preface contains an account of the Eddic mythology, and of the Manuscripts from which the poems are printed; a curious life of Sæmund follows, and then the poems: they are thirteen in number. The ninth of them is the journey of Odin to hell, so finely translated by Mr. Gray: he has omitted to translate the five first stanzas; without them it is impossible to comprehend the action of the poem; and even with them, several parts of it are very obscure.—Dreams of a terrible kind had intimated to the god Balder, one of Odin's sons, that he should soon die: he communicated them to the other gods; they were alarmed, and agreed to conjure away the danger with which he was threatened: with

that view they sent Odin, and Friga his wife, to exact an oath from every object in nature, not to hurt Balder. Odin and Friga executed the commission. Still Odin was uneasy: he called a new council, and not hearing any thing satisfactory, he “up
“rose with speed.”—Here Mr. Gray’s translation of the poem begins: when the prophetess appears, he assumes a feigned name and character, and asks her, in the figurative style of the Edda, for whom the ornamented bed, (such as according to the Eddic Mythology awaited martial heroes in the next life, immediately on their decease), was then prepared; she replies for Balder, and says his shield already hung over the bowl of mead prepared for him; this was another reward of heroes: then follow the questions and replies respecting the author and avenger of Balder’s death. Odin then inquires who the virgins are, who so greatly bewail Balder’s fate; by this question, the prophetess in-

stantly perceives the deception put on her, and that she is talking to the "King of Men:"—but it has been asked, how is this intimated by the question? Now in the Edda of Snorro, it is related, that on the death of Balder, Friga his mother, sent Hermod to Hela the goddess of Death, to persuade her to give him up; Hela required that all things animate or inanimate should bewail his death: to this general lamentation Odin refers; the prophetess feels that this is a circumstance which none but Odin could foresee, and she therefore breaks out into the exclamation, "King of Men, I know thee now!"—This seems to explain the poem satisfactorily. The poem as it stands in Sæmund's Edda, and the account of Balder's death in the Edda of Snorro, may be read as curious specimens of each.

In Sæmund's Edda, the poems are followed by a Dictionary.—It is difficult to ascertain the age of these poems with pre-

cision: we have observed that they are of an earlier date than the introduction of Christianity into Iceland by the Norwegian settlers; the arguments of Sæmund's editor to prove they are of the ninth century are very strong.

Such is the antient Edda.—It is evident that Sæmund was at most the compiler of it, and his being the compiler of it, is uncertain; it is by no means clear that we are in possession of all the fables or mythologies originally inserted in the compilation which goes under his name; and that compilation, probably, did not contain all the Eddic fables or mythological tales then extant.

4. The *modern Edda* is unquestionably the work of *Snorro Sturleson*: he was born in 1179, was supreme judge of Iceland from 1215 to 1222, and died in 1241. His work is an abridgment of Eddic mythology in the form of a dialogue. It was published by Resenius in 1665; a new edition,

(which the writer has not been able to procure), of part of the modern Edda was published by Goranson, at Upsal, in 1746. In 1763, *Mr. Mallet* published his *Histoire de Dannemarc*, in six volumes octavo; the two first of them serve as an Introduction: the second contains a translation of part of the Edda. Under the title of *Northern Antiquities*, an excellent English translation of the two first volumes of *Mr. Mallet's* work, with a learned preface and valuable notes, and with *Goranson's* Latin version of the Edda, was published in 1770. We are principally indebted for it to the learned and polite pen of the Bishop of Dromore. It has been observed that *Resenius's* edition contains, besides the modern Edda, the *Voluspa*, the *Haavamaal*, and the magic of *Odin* of the antient or *Sæmund's* Edda.

In *Resenius's* edition, the Edda of *Snorro* is preceded by a dedication in fifty-eight pages to *Frederick III.* This is followed

by a preface of fifty-two pages, containing an account of the antient and modern Edda, and of Sæmund and Snorro; the modern Edda then follows. Every chapter first appears in the Icelandic language, in Danish characters, then in a Danish, and afterwards in a Latin translation. The Danish is by Stephanius, the Latin by Magnus Olai; various readings are noticed from manuscripts, and the Latin translation: neither page nor folio is marked in the book.

In Resenius's edition, the Edda consists of 78 mythologies or fables, in Goranson's of 26, in Mallet of 33; but the division of the chapters is arbitrary, the matter, as far as they all proceed together, being the same.

Resenius's edition contains three introductory chapters; the two first are very short, the third is long, and is omitted both by Goranson and Mallet; both Goranson and Mallet stop with the end of the 50th fable in Resenius's edition. Thus far the

works consist of a dialogue between a king of Sweden, called Gylfe, and the gods, at their court at Asgard. Gylfe proposes questions, which some of the gods answer; they turn on the nature of the gods, and their adventures. The 2d part contains an account of a similar dialogue between the gods and Ægær a Danish lord. They receive his visit with great ceremony; the god Bragge sits down by him, and narrates their exploits and adventures to him. This part of the Edda ends with the 62d fable or mythology; the remainder of the work, except the 68th and 69th and 70th divisions, which are of the mythological kind, is historical, with a considerable intermixture of fable. The work concludes with an epilogue of no consequence, and probably an interpolation. It is followed by the Scalda, a kind of poetical dictionary for the use of students, with observations on the language, and its orthography, and on

the structure of the verses of the poetical works written in it.

Such are the Antient and New Eddas of Sæmund and Snorro; the reputation and importance, in many respects, of the Edda, loudly call for a new and complete edition of them. This is Mr. Pinkerton's observation in an useful and instructive manuscript on the Edda, which he kindly permitted the writer to peruse.

5. *Odin* is the hero of the Edda: but the whole of his history is involved in fable and obscurity. It is a probable conjecture that the tribes, which he led into Scandinavia, came originally from the countries reaching to the Caucasus from the north of Persia; and that, by different irruptions, they successively extended their conquests over the Volga, the Tanais, and each side of the Baltic: it also is probable, that, at the time of their irruption into the Scandinavian countries, which is referred to by the Edda,

the principal seat of their residence was Asoph, and that Odin was their leader. We are told that, by a variety of heroic acts of valour and consummate military skill, he persuaded his troops that he possessed more than mortal powers; that he himself cherished this opinion among them; and that to confirm them in it, when he found the approach of age and infirmity, he called an assembly of the principal of his subjects, and wounded himself in nine mortal places, hastening away, (as he declared with his dying voice), to prepare the feast of the heroes in the palace of the god of war. The enthusiastic admiration of his followers at first compared him, then identified him with that deity. This confusion in the ideas of the Scandinavians affects the Edda; there Odin is sometimes an hero highly gifted and favoured; sometimes he is the god of war himself.

As the mythology of the Scandinavians became more refined, the number of their

deities increased. They assigned to Odin the wife we have mentioned, Friga or Fria, the Scandinavian Venus. Twelve gods and twelve goddesses, all of whom were children of Odin, completed the celestial family: Thor, the god of thunder, was the most powerful of them; Balder, the god of grace and eloquence, was the Scandinavian Apollo; Loke, the god of cunning, was at once their Momus, their Mercury, and their Ahriman: he had several children, and several monsters were born of him, the wolf Fenris, the serpent Medgard, and Hela or Death.

The gods have chained up the wolf, thrown the serpent into the sea, cast Hela into the lower world, where she reigns over the dead; and shut up Loke in a cavern under the earth, where, by his rage, he shakes the world with earthquakes. Each of the twelve goddesses has her separate and characteristic powers: several virgins are assigned to wait on the heroes after their

death: every day the heroes engage in most violent battle, mounted on fiery steeds, and clothed in resplendent armour; they give and receive wounds; but, when the battle is over, they bathe in a fountain of living water; they are instantly healed, and then sit down to a sumptuous repast, at which Odin presides, and pass the remaining hours in circling goblets of mead, and martial song.

But all this is temporary; the *twilight of the gods*, as it is termed in the Edda, will arrive, when Loke will break from his confinement, when the human race, the stars, the moon and the sun will disappear, the earth sink in the seas, fire consume the skies, and Odin himself and his kindred gods will perish. A mysterious and all powerful being, who seems to have nothing in common with Odin, and who, before this grand catastrophe, is scarcely discernible in the Eddic mythology, will then come on the stage, and renovate the universe. This is

the most curious passage in the Edda; it is thus expressed, in the translation we have mentioned.

“ There will come a time,” says the Edda,
“ a barbarous age, an age of the sword,
“ when iniquity shall infest the earth, when
“ brothers shall stain themselves with bro-
“ thers’ blood, when sons shall be the mur-
“ derers of their fathers, and fathers of their
“ sons, when incest and adultery shall be
“ common, when no man shall spare his
“ friend. Immediately shall succeed a de-
“ solating winter; the snow shall fall from
“ the four corners of the world, the winds
“ shall blow with fury, the whole earth shall
“ be hard bound in ice. Three such win-
“ ters shall pass away, without being sof-
“ tened by one summer. Then shall suc-
“ ceed astonishing prodigies: then shall the
“ monsters break their chains and escape:
“ the great dragon shall roll himself in the
“ ocean, and with his motions the earth
“ shall be overflowed: the earth shall be

“ shaken; the trees shall be torn up by the
“ roots; the rocks shall be dashed against
“ each other. The wolf Fenris, broke loose
“ from his chains, shall open his enormous
“ mouth which reaches from heaven to
“ earth; the fire shall flash out from his
“ eyes and nostrils; he shall devour the
“ sun: and the great dragon who follows
“ him, shall vomit forth upon the waters
“ and into the air, great torrents of venom.
“ In this confusion the stars shall fly from
“ their places, the heaven shall cleave asun-
“ der, and the army of evil Genii and
“ giants, conducted by Sortur (the black)
“ and followed by Loke, shall break in, to
“ attack the gods. But Heimdal, the door-
“ keeper of the gods, rises up; he sounds
“ the clanging trumpet; the gods awake
“ and assemble; the great ash tree shakes
“ its branches; heaven and earth are full
“ of horror and affright. The gods fly to
“ arms; the heroes place themselves in bat-
“ tle-array. Odin appears armed in his

“ golden casque and his resplendent cui-
“ rass; his vast scimeter is in his hands.
“ He attacks the wolf Fenris; he is de-
“ voured by him, and Fenris perishes at the
“ same instant. Thor is suffocated in the
“ floods of venom which the dragon breathes
“ forth as he expires. Loke and Heimdal
“ mutually kill each other. The fire con-
“ sumes every thing, and the flame reaches
“ up to heaven. But presently after, a
“ new earth springs forth from the bosom
“ of the waves, adorned with green mea-
“ dows; the fields there bring forth without
“ culture, calamities are there unknown, a
“ palace is there raised more shining than
“ the sun, all covered with gold. This is
“ the place that the just will inhabit, and
“ enjoy delights for evermore. Then the
“ powerful, the valiant, *he who governs all*
“ *things*, comes forth from his lofty abodes,
“ to render divine justice. He pronounces
“ decrees: he establishes the sacred desti-
“ nies which shall endure for ever. There

“ is an abode remote from the sun, the gates
“ of which face the north; poison rains
“ there through a thousand openings: this
“ place is all composed of the carcasses of
“ serpents: there run certain torrents, in
“ which are plunged the perjurers, assassins,
“ and those who seduce married women.
“ A black, winged dragon flies incessantly
“ around, and devours the bodies of the
“ wretched who are there imprisoned.”

"is an abode remote from the sun, the gates
of which face the north: poison rains
there through a thousand openings: this
place is all composed of the carcasses of
serpents: there run certain torrents, in
which are plunged the popular assassins,
and those whose virtue married women
A black winged dragon flies incessantly
around, and devours the bodies of the
wretched who are there imprisoned."

A P P E N D I X.

TWO DISSERTATIONS.

- I. On the Truth of *The Narrative of a Great Council of the Jews on the plain of Ageda in Hungary, published in The Phœnix in 1707*; with the Narrative subjoined:—referred to by Note I. in the First Volume of the *Horæ Biblicæ*.
- II. A short Historical Outline of the Disputes respecting the Authenticity of *The Verse of The Three Heavenly Witnesses, or 1 John, Chap. V. ver. 7.* Addressed to the Reverend Herbert Marsh: referred to by Note II. in the First Volume of the *Horæ Biblicæ*.

A DISSERTATION
ON
THE TRUTH OF THE NARRATIVE

OF A

*Great Council of the Jews on the Plain of
Ageda in Hungary, in 1650.*

THE following Narrative of a COUNCIL OF JEWS ON THE PLAIN OF AGEDA, about thirty leagues from Buda, in 1650, was inserted in the private Edition of this Essay, mentioned in the preface.

The writer had not formed an opinion of its credibility; but, as he found that it had been inserted in the *Phoenix* and the *Harleian Miscellany*, two collections in high estimation, and that it had been cited and appealed to, by Authors of great character in the republic of letters, and, as the contents of it, if true, are interesting, he thought it deserved to attract the attention of the curious. In the Second and Third Editions of this Essay, it was omitted: but, as several persons have expressed to the Writer a wish to see it in the present, he inserts it accordingly.

I.

It was *first published in 1655*, in a quarto pamphlet, printed for Richard Moon, at the Seven Stars in St. Paul's Church-yard, near the great North Door.

It was afterwards published in "*The Phenix*:
" or a Revival of Scarce and Valuable Pieces
" from the remotest Antiquity down to the
" present times: being a collection of Manu-
" scripts and printed tracts no where to be
" found, but in the closets of the curious. By
" a Gentleman who has made it his business to
" search after such pieces for twenty years
" past. London, printed for J. Morphew, near
" Stationers' Hall, 1707." 2 vols. octavo.—The Narrative is the 14th article of the 1st volume of this collection.—It has not been discovered who was the compiler of the Phenix; but it seems to be a collection generally esteemed: and it certainly contains several curious and interesting articles.

The Narrative is also inserted in the first volume of the celebrated *Harleian Miscellany*. In each of these collections, it is printed without any account of Mr. Brett the writer of it, and without any observation on its contents.

An Extract of Mr. Samuel Brett's Relation is also inserted in a duodecimo Pamphlet, with the following title: *Two journeys to Jerusalem*,

containing, *First, a strange and true account of the Travels of two English Pilgrims some years since, and what admirable accidents befel them in their journey to Jerusalem, Grand Cairo, Alexandria, &c. By H. T. Secondly, The Travels of fourteen Englishmen in 1669, from Scanderoon to Tripoly, Joppa, Ramah, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Jericho, the River Jordan, the Lake of Sodom and Gomorrah, and back again to Aleppo. By T. B. With the Rare Antiquities, Monuments and Memorable Places and Things mentioned in holy Scripture: and an exact Description of the Old and New Jerusalem, &c. To which is added, a Relation of the Great Council of the Jews assembled on the Plains of Ajay-day in Hungaria in 1650, to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ. By S. B. an Englishman there present. With an Account of the wonderful Delusion of the Jews, by a counterfeit Messiah or false Christ at Smyrna, in 1666 and the Event thereof. Lastly, the Fatal and Final Extirpation and Destruction of the Jews throughout Persia in 1666, and the remarkable occasion thereof. Collected by R. B. and beautified with Pictures. London, printed by Nath. Crouch, at the Bell in the Poultry, near Cheapside, 1692.*

It contains an engraving, not very well executed, of the supposed meeting. It is immediately followed by a brief chronology concern-

ing the Jews, in which the Author expresses himself as follows. “ Ye have also heard what was
“ resolved upon, of the same nature, to be acted
“ in the year 1653, of which though we cannot
“ give a relation, (not knowing whether Mr.
“ Samuel Brett lived to that day, and had
“ liberty to keep his promise of being there,
“ or if he lived, whether he wrote the relation
“ of that year’s meeting or whether the man
“ be yet alive); yet we have little cause to
“ doubt, but the said meeting, (so publicly and
“ solemnly appointed, and of so grand a matter)
“ was punctually observed and celebrated, according to the set time and place; though
“ we so remotely distant from them have not
“ heard thereof. Yet this we have heard, about
“ that time, or presently after, that some antient Rabbies cautioned their countrymen,
“ that, if their expected Messiah did not come
“ in a few years, thence following, they should
“ embrace the christian Messiah for the true
“ Messiah.”

The work is preceded by a preface in which the publisher says, that “ the Relations were
“ all written by several Englishmen of undoubted veracity and credit, and who were
“ upon the places where these remarkable
“ things were transacted, and therefore need
“ not beg, but may rather command belief.”

An account of the Council, copied from The Narrative is also inserted in the interesting *History of the Dispersion of the Jews*, published in the eleventh volume of the *Modern Universal History*, p. 141; the authors of the work refer to Brett's Narrative in the Phenix, but refer to no other authority.

This part of the Universal History is supposed to have been written by Psalmanazer: and, as he was a person of real learning, and very conversant in Hebrew literature, and probably lived much with Jews, his insertion of it is a circumstance in favour of its credibility.

Mr. Brett's narrative is inserted in the Bishop of Clogher's *Dissertation on Prophecy*,—and it is mentioned and treated as authentic by Dr. Owen, in his *Essay on Image Worship*, by Mr. Richards of Oxford, and lately, by Mr. Whitaker in his *History of Arianism*.

It is cited, from the Phenix, in Wolfii *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, Pars secunda, p. 1019:—in the *Acta Eruditorum*, *Leipziæ*, 1709, p. 104—in Fabricius's *Delectus Argumentorum et Syllabus Scriptorum qui veritatem Religionis Christianæ adversus Athæos, Epicureos, Deistas seu Naturalistas, Idolatras, Judæos et Muhamedeanos, lucubrationibus suis asseruerunt*, printed at *Hamburgh*, 1725, p. 594.

It is also mentioned by Dr. Jortin, in his *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, 2 vol. 340. 2 Edit.

The Plain of Ageda does not appear in any map or in any geographical work which has come to the knowledge of the writer of these sheets. — On the borders of Hungary and Transilvania, a large tract of level country lies between the Danube and the Theys, which in Vischer's map is called *Campus Cumanorum*, divided, by Busching's account, between the Cumani and Jazyges. On the Theys, is *Seged* or *Segedinum*, the principal town of the county of Bodrock, famous for its sieges by the Turks and Imperialists:—this level country *may be* the scene of Mr. Brett's narrative.

It is observable, that, one of the occurrences which Mr. Brett says he met with in his travels, was, “The strangling of the Great Turk
“by the Janizaries, and their enthronement of
“his son.” This accords with history;—Sultan Ibrahim was dethroned and strangled on the 28th of July 1649, and his son Mahomet the fourth was immediately raised to the throne.

It also is observable, that, at the time assigned for the meeting, the Jews were in great expectation of the immediate appearance of the Messiah: and many of them confidently asserted he existed on earth. Zeigler, a Rabbi of great

consideration among them, professed to have seen the Messiah at Strasburgh.

Mr. Brett says, that the Propounder at the meeting, was called Zacharias, and that he was of the tribe of Levi:—now we are informed by the Authors of the Universal History, that, at the time of the Council, there was a Rabbi Zacharias, in high credit at Vienna, both with the Court and his brethren. Under leave of the Emperor, he built a stately Synagogue, and founded and endowed an academy of Rabbins, who were to read lectures on the Thalmud night and day; so that the school was always to be open, and some doctors always teaching in it: this circumstance makes it probable, that, if the meeting in question took place, the Rabbi Zacharias, would preside, or at least take an active part at it.

II.

On the other hand, the Narrative was no sooner published than it was pronounced fabulous by Manasseh Ben Israel, a learned Rabbi. In his Vindiciæ Judæorum, or A Letter in answer to certain questions propounded by a noble and learned Gentleman, touching the Reproaches cast on the Nation of the Jews; wherein all objections are candidly and yet fully cleared,—the 24th article of the second volume of the Phenix,

but first published in 1756,—he writes as follows:

“ Love and Hatred,” says Plutarch, “ corrupt the truth of every thing, as experience sufficiently declares it; when we see that which comes to pass, that one and the same thing, in one and the same city, at one and the same time, is related in different manners. I myself, in my own negotiation here, have found it so. For it hath been rumoured abroad, that our nation had purchased St. Paul’s church, for to make it their Synagogue, notwithstanding it was formerly a Temple consecrated to Diana. And many other things have been reported of us, that never entered into the thoughts of our nation; as I have seen a fabulous narrative of the proceedings of the Great Council of the Jews, assembled on the Plain of Ageda in Hungary, to determine whether the Messiah were come or no.”

Now, on the point under consideration, the authority of Manasseh Ben Israel is very great: he was skilled not only in Jewish, but in general literature; and was highly esteemed not only by Jews, but by Christians; he carried on a literary correspondence with men of letters of all countries, and at the very time of the publication in question, he was negotiating with Cromwell, the return of the Jews into Eng-

land. It is improbable that, in these circumstances, he should be ignorant of the meeting, or that he should pronounce it fabulous, if it really took place.

The *Vindiciæ Judæorum* was published in 1658, about one year after Mr. Brett's Narrative appeared: Mr. Brett was therefore called on to vouch for the truth of the Narrative; but it does not appear to have been defended by himself or any other person.

Basnage says nothing of the Council;—now, it should seem impossible, that Basnage should be ignorant of it, if it really took place; and the nature of his history particularly called on him to mention it.

The writer of these sheets has caused much enquiry, respecting the existence of the Council, to be made among the Jews on the Continent. His enquiries there have not led to the discovery of a single Jew who has heard of the Council. The English Jews are equally ignorant of it; they treat the narrative as a fable.

With respect to *the internal credibility of the Narrative*:—it seems probable that if there had been such a meeting, as is described by Mr. Brett, some circumstances mentioned by him, would, (at least in a certain degree), have taken place at it.—That some enquiry would

have been made to ascertain the real Judaism of those who claimed a right of voting; that some of the members would have pretended to be of the tribe of Levi; that something like the antient sects of Pharisees and Sadducees would have appeared among them; that some Roman Catholic divines would have attended at the meeting to avail themselves of the opportunity of making conversions among the Jews; and that the Jews would have refused them an hearing, and reviled their devotion to the saints;—all this, as described by Brett, would, probably, have happened;—but, that any meeting of the kind should have taken place; that it should have proceeded with the order and regularity described by Mr. Brett; that the Pope, the King of Hungary and the Sultan, (the two last then at war), should have given permission for it; that any number of Jews should for a moment have appeared to think it probable, that Christ was the Messiah; that, under the circumstances in which they assembled, they should openly and loudly have reviled Christ by calumnies and blasphemies; that they should have taken into consideration, what Mr. Brett calls the main Query, “if Christ were come, what rules and orders he left his church to walk by;” or that they should have agreed to

meet the following year in Syria, is certainly very improbable.—It is also observable that, we have no account whatever of this second meeting.

Mr. Brett says, that the number of Jews assembled was 800; and that 500 of them were refused, because they could not prove themselves by record, to be true born Jews, or could not dispute in Hebrew. Now the inability of 500 to establish their Judaic extraction, by such proof as the remaining 300 could have produced, seems unlikely;—and with respect to the ability of the remaining 300 to dispute in Hebrew, (by which we must understand the Rabbinical dialect of Hebrew), it must, to every person who has paid any attention to the general state of Jewish literature, appear incredible, that the whole world should furnish 300 Jews, who could hold a conversation in that language: and if there were 300, how very few of them could have attended the meeting in question? The Jews themselves acknowledge, that the number of those, who understand the Rabbinical language, is extremely small: “*Paucissimi sunt Hebræi, qui Hebræam linguam, nedum Talmud, vel alios Rabbiorum libros, intelligunt,*” are the words of the Rabbi Otto, quoted by Wagenseit, *Tela Ignea Satanæ*, p.119. —If the number of those, who understand the

Rabbinical language, be so very small, how much smaller must be the number of those who speak it? How, therefore, could Mr. Brett's 300, *Hebræo ore loquentes*, have been collected?

Upon the whole, the writer agrees with the Leipzig critics, in the *Acta Eruditorum*, “ that
“ the narrative contains several things, which,
“ if they do not make its truth, altogether
“ doubtful, certainly shew the author was ig-
“ norant of Jewish affairs: ceterum,” say these
critics, “ sunt in eâ relatione non nulla, quæ,
“ si plane dubiam fidem ejus non reddant, re-
“ rum saltem Judaicarum ignorantia auctorem
“ arguunt.”

Such also appears to have been the opinion of Dr. Jortin.

It may be added, that the mention made by Mr. Brett, of the places into which he travelled, (p. 234 of this Appendix), is very confused: it has much the appearance of fable, and is expressed in such a manner as must make an intelligent reader suspect the writer's being an ignorant man.

A NARRATIVE

OF THE

Proceedings of a Great Council of Jews, assembled on the Plain of Ageda in Hungary, about thirty leagues from Buda, to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ, on the twelfth of October 1650. By Samuel Brett, there present.

ALSO

A Relation of some other Observations in his Travels beyond the Seas. First printed in 1655.

TO THE READER.

THERE was nothing I more desired than to travel beyond the seas, and to know the various manners of the nations of the world: for which, through God's providence, I had an opportunity offered me, to my great satisfaction, being chirurgeon of an English ship in the Straits, where, for a cure that I did for Orlando de Spina of Gollipulo, an eminent man in those parts, I was by him preferred to be a captain of a ship of Malta, which was set out by the said Orlando, and committed to my command against the Turks in the Arches, in assistance to the Venetian service: in which service I spent about nine months, till the tem-

pestuous season of the year enforced me to return into harbour again. And in this time of employment, I made five fights at sea, and two at land; being chosen by lot to invade the Turks country, with a certain company of soldiers collected out of our fleet, to do some execution upon the borders of the enemy, and to get some provision for our relief; in all which fights (although very perilous) God gave me the victory.

The whole time I spent beyond the seas, before and after this employment, was almost four years, not staying long in any one place. But first I travelled to all the sea towns of note for merchandizing, to know the trade of the places, and the conveniency of their harbours, that I might be able to do some profitable service in merchants' affairs. Also I travelled into several countries, and the most eminent cities and towns therein; viz. Egypt, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Calabria, Apuleia, Sicilia, Assyria, Sclavonia, some parts of Spain and Portugal; to the islands of Cyprus, Candia, Patmos, Delphos; to Carthage, Corinth, Troy, Constantinople; besides many other towns and places: but my longest abode was in Italy, and therein at Venice, Naples, Leghorn, Florence, Milan, Rome, Bologna, Mantua, Genoa, &c. And at last looking homeward, I came into France;

taking a brief view of many eminent places in that kingdom. And at Paris I found many of my countrymen (of which, though some be persons of great quality, yet) God knoweth they are in a low condition. And now I shall give a brief account of some of my observations, during the time of my abode beyond the seas.

A Narrative of the Proceedings of a Great Council of Jews, &c.

AT Paris our countrymen live peaceably, and enjoy our religion without disturbance. There is a place allowed them, with necessary accommodations for the exercise of religion. Dr. Steward did often preach to them; and for their form of worship, it is the same that was formerly in England, with the book of Common Prayer, and the rites therein used; and also they continue the innovations that were practised by many of our clergy, as bowing at the name of Jesus towards the altar, &c. which I know giveth offence to the good French protestants, who to me did often condemn those innovations for Romish superstitions. Doubtless they would do our church and our religion more credit there, if they did use less cere-

mony. As for the French papists, truly they are more civil to them than was expected: for the opinion of the world, where I have been, is but mean of that nation. And I believe the Italian may be their Cousin-german, for both of them are false and faithless enough. And this consideration (God having taken away Orlando my noble friend, who did always much countenance me) did lessen my affection to continue in that service; for my soldiers were all Italians (except a few Greeks) and I never saw much cause to be confident in their fidelity; but it was chiefly for fear of him, that they were so tractable to me.

As for religion, in most parts where I have been, it is generally the same with the church of Rome; but for the Grecians (for amongst them I was) they are neither pure protestants nor pure papists; I mean, neither only protestants nor only papists, but their religion is a mixture of both: for though they hold some fundamentals with us, yet they follow many of the Romish superstitions; and (according to my observation) they follow more the religion of Rome, than the protestant church; and they are much poisoned with heresies.

But of all nations, according to my observation, none are more zealous for the religion of Rome than the Spaniards, who, I think, for this

are more Romanists than the Romans themselves; for with them there is an inquisition, and in Rome I never heard of the same dangerous snare: there I had as much freedom as I could desire, and more courtesy than I could expect, without any temptation to apostatize from my religion.

As for the occurrences that I met with, they were many: but these four were the most considerable.

First, The strangling of the great Turk by the Janizaries, at which time there was great fear and trouble in Constantinople; but they enthroned his son, and this brought a peaceable settlement. And with him there were cut off divers Bashas' heads; all whose heads (excepting the great Turk's) lay three days in chargers before the palace-gate, for the public view of the people; which they say is the custom for the noblemen that are beheaded.

The next thing is, the flowing of the river Nilus in Egypt; the manner whereof is this: it beginneth to flow about the fifteenth of June every year: the people know the time thereof, and expect it accordingly; and this is after their harvest, which is usually ended about the beginning of May. As for rain, there seldom falleth any in Egypt. During the time the river is up, all the country appeareth like islands,

Their towns are seated upon hills, and their lower grounds are all covered with waters; and the inhabitants use small boats to pass from place to place about their affairs: and because they know the yearly flowing of Nilus, they provide for the safety of their cattle till the waters are wasted away again. There are also certain pillars of stone set up, with divers marks upon them, by which they know the degrees of the rising, and the usual height that the waters do ascend unto; and if the waters do ascend above the highest mark, they do expect some strange consequence thereof. But the greatest wonder is, the present cessation of the plague upon the flowing of this river. There died some thousands of the plague the day before the flowing of Nilus in Grandcairo, as they certified me; and a day or two after, not one person more died of the infection. This I observed, that the land is full of unhealthy fogs, mists, and vapours, which cause the disease; and it seems the waters of Nilus do purify it again.

In the kingdom of Grandcairo, alias Pharaoh's Town, is the city, and it is greater than any elsewhere I did behold; but Memphis is the neater city: and being there, I went to see the land of Goshen, where the Israelites did inhabit. This is a very pleasant and fruitful

land for pasture, such as I have no where seen the like. At this time also, I had an opportunity to see the Red Sea, and the place where (as they informed me) the Israelites did enter their journey through the same. There also they shewed me the great mountains that inclosed them, when Pharaoh pursued them with his great army; and the hills where the two armies lay in sight one of another. And there I found the true reason why it is called the Red Sea; not because the water is red naturally, but because the sand is red: and this was clear to me by plain demonstration; for I put some of the water into a clean vessel, and there I did see it had the same colour of other water; but the sand is reddish, and giveth the same colour to the water.

I shall omit many other things concerning Egypt; only this, it is under the Turk's dominion, and the natives are his miserable slaves.

Thirdly, You may expect some news from Rome, where also I was, and did behold their great solemnity; it being then the Anno Sancto, as they there call it, that is, the year of Jubilee.

There I beheld the Pope in his glory, and how in great state he was carried about the city: the streets were thronged with the people;

and as he passed by, they made them even ring with acclamations and rejoicings: he was carried by some eminent men, having a rich canopy over him. He made his crosses in the air with his fingers, and threw his blessings amongst them. And truly these delusions were so prevailing with the people, that (poor souls) they seemed to me to rejoice, as if Christ himself had been come to Rome, and brought them down the felicities of heaven.

At one time I beheld in Naples (perhaps it will seem strange, but it is true) about eight thousand pilgrims going to Rome for their absolution; all which the Viceroy of Naples maintained three days at his own charge; and on the fourth day, they did present themselves before him at his palace in pilgrim weeds, viz. with leaden pictures of saints in their hats, with leather collars about their necks, which fell down half way over their arms, and their staves in their hands: and thus they marched away from Naples, in the posture of an army towards Rome; and so farewell Rome. *Vidi, satis est vidisse.*

I omit to recite many other occurrences, which by conference I shall willingly communicate to my friends, they being too many to commit to writing: only now the fourth remarkable thing remaineth to present you with;

and that is, *The proceedings of a great council of Jews, assembled in the plain of Ageda in Hungary*, about thirty leagues distant from Buda, to examine the scriptures concerning Christ; on the twelfth of October, 1650.

It hath been much desired by many honest christians, that this narrative of the Jews' council should be published, which I did intend only to communicate to private friends. The chief argument by which they have persuaded me to do it, is, because they do conceive it to be a preparative and hopeful sign of the Jews conversion, and that it will be glad tidings to the church of Christ; and therefore I have yielded to satisfy their desires therein. And thus it was:

At the place above named there assembled about three hundred Rabbies, called together from several parts of the world, to examine the scriptures concerning Christ; and it seems this place was thought most convenient for this council, in regard that part of the country was not much inhabited, because of the continual wars between the Turk and the king of Hungary; where (as I was informed) they had fought two bloody battles: yet both princes, notwithstanding their own differences, did give leave to the Jews to hold their council there. And for their accommodation there, the Jews

did make divers tents for their repose, and had plenty of provision brought them from other parts of the country, during the time of their sitting there. There was also one large tent, built only for the council to sit in, made almost foursquare; the north and the south part of it, being not altogether so large as the east and west part thereof. It had but one door, and that opened to the east; and in the middle thereof stood a little table and a stool for the propounder to sit on, with his face towards the door of the tent. The said propounder was of the tribe of Levi, and was named Zacharias; and within this tent round about were placed divers forms for the consulters to sit on. It was also inclosed with a rail, that stood at a distance from it, to prevent entrance to all strangers, and to all such Jews as could not prove themselves to be Jews by record, or could not dispute in the Hebrew tongue, which many had forgotten, who lived in such countries, where they are not allowed their synagogues, as in France, Spain, and those parts of Italy that do belong to the king of Spain, viz. the kingdom of Naples, with the province of Calabria and Apuleia; the kingdom of Sicilia and Sardinia; in which places if a Jew be found, and he deny the popish religion, he is in danger to be condemned and executed for

it; and yet profit and benefit allureth them to dwell in those countries, notwithstanding their fears and dangers: and themselves are willing to forget, and so neglect to teach their children their native language, rather than they will lose their opportunity of profit: and some have burnt the antient records of their tribe and family, that they might not be discovered by searching, or otherwise. And for this defect, that they could not prove their tribe or family, they were not permitted to come within the rail, but were commanded to remain without, with the strangers that remained there, to see the issue of their proceeding, which were above three thousand persons, and they were for the most part Germans, Almaines, Dalmatians, and Hungarians, with some Greeks; but few Italians, and not one Englishman, that I could hear of, besides myself.

I was informed, that the king of Hungary not favouring the reformed religion, did give no encouragement to any protestant churches to send any divines thither; but he did allow that some assistants should be sent from Rome: and their coming thither did prove a great unhappiness to this hopeful council.

When the assembly did first meet, they spent some time in their mutual salutations; and, as

their manner is, they kissed one the other's cheek, expressing much joy for their happy meeting. And all things being provided for their accommodation, they considered of the Jews that were to be admitted members of this council; and they were only allowed to be members, which could by record prove themselves to be native Jews; and for defect herein, I observed above five hundred refused: though doubtless they were true born Jews, yet they could not by record prove themselves so to be; and for this they were not admitted to be members of the council, but they did abide without the rail with the strangers that were there: and the number of them that were accepted to be members, was about three hundred Jews. And this was all that was done the first day.

On the second day, the assembly being full, the propounder stood up, and made his speech concerning the end of their meeting: and, *This*, said he, *is to examine the scriptures concerning Christ, whether he be already come, or whether we are yet to expect his coming.* In examining this question, they searched the Old Testament with great care and labour, to be resolved of the truth thereof, having many Bibles with them there for this end. And about this point there were great disputes amongst

them. The major part were of opinion, that he was not come: and some inclined to think that he was come; being moved thereunto by their great judgment, that hath continued now these sixteen hundred years upon them.

I remember very well one of the council in his conference with me, seemed to be very apprehensive of the great and long desolation of their nation, ever since their destruction by the Roman emperors; and he imputed this their affliction to their impenitency. And comparing their present judgment, with their other judgments they had suffered before, he ingenuously confessed, that he did conceive it was for some great wickedness; and that their nation was guilty of the blood of the prophets sent from God to their Nation, and the many massacres that had been committed by the several sects and factions amongst them. *For (said he) we are no idolaters, neither do I think we were guilty of idolatry since our captivity in Babylon; and therefore (said he) I do impute this our calamity and present judgment to the fore-named causes.* And this was the sum of that which was disputed amongst them the second day of their meeting; and so they adjourned till the next morning, which was the third day of their meeting.

When being assembled together again, the

point that was chiefly agitated was concerning the manner of Christ's coming. And this, some said, shall be like a mighty prince, in the full power and authority of a king, yea, in greater power than ever any king had; and that he will deliver their nation out of the power of their enemies, and their temple shall be rebuilt again; and, that the nations shall be of their religion, and worship God after their manner. For they hold, that the Messiah will not alter their religion, whensoever he cometh. And further, concerning his parentage, they did agree in this, that he should be born of a virgin, according to the prediction of the prophets; and they agreed also, that he may be born of such a Virgin, which might be of mean note amongst their nation, as was the Virgin Mary. And here some of them seemed to me, to incline to think that Christ was come. Therefore when they came together again the next day, the propounder demanded of them, if Christ were already come, and who they thought he was? and to this demand they gave this answer, that they thought Eliah was he, if he were come, because he came with great power, which he declared by slaying the priests of Baal; and, for the fulfilling of the Scripture, he was oppressed by Ahab and Jezabel: yet they esteemed him

to be more than a mortal man, because he so strangely ascended up into heaven. And because this opinion was contradicted by others, the day following they took into examination the same question, to answer them that said Eliah was not the Messiah. They of the contrary opinion did urge the care and love of Eliah for the good of their nation, in that he left them Elisha his disciple to teach and instruct the people; which they expect to be the care of their Messiah. These were the chief arguments they had to defend their opinion: and the same day, towards night, it came into question amongst them, what he then was that said he was the Son of God, and was crucified by their ancestors? And because this was the great question amongst them, they deferred the further consideration thereof until the next day.

When meeting again, the Pharisees (for some of this sect were amongst them, that were always the enemies of Christ) they first began to answer this last night's question; and these by no means would yield that he was the Christ; and these reasons they gave for their opinion.

First, Because (said they) he came into the world like an ordinary and inferior man, not with his scepter, nor royal power; wherewith

they affirmed the coming of Christ should be glorious. Secondly, They pleaded against him the meanness of his birth, in that his father was a carpenter; and this they said, was a dishonour that Christ should not be capable of. Thirdly, They accused him to be an enemy to Moses's law, in suffering his disciples, and in doing works himself that were prohibited on the Sabbath-day; for they believe that the Messiah will punctually and exactly keep the law of Moses: and where the gospel doth testify of Christ, that he did fulfil the law, they reject the testimony thereof, because they do not own the gospel. But I observed these reasons of the Pharisees did not satisfy all that heard them, but there still remained some doubt in some of them concerning Christ; for there stood up one Rabbie called Abraham, and objected against the Pharisees, the miracles that Christ wrought whilst he was upon earth, as his raising of the dead to life again, his making the lame to walk, the blind to see, and the dumb to speak. And the same Abraham demanded of the Pharisees, by what power he did these miracles? The answer the Pharisees returned to him, was to this purpose: they said he was an impostor and a magician; and blasphemously traduced him of doing all his miracles by magic: thus, said

they, he first caused them to be blind, to be dumb, to be lame; and then by taking away his magical charm, they were restored to their former condition. Nevertheless, this answer gave little satisfaction to the said Abraham: but thus he replied, that he could not charm those that were born in that condition, as blind, &c. and born also before Christ himself was born; as it appeareth some of them were. This seemed to him an absurd paradox; and truly the pressing of this argument did almost put them to a nonplus, till at last they had this evasion, though weak and vile. 'They were, said they, by other magicians convinced to be so in their mothers' wombs; and that although himself were not then born when they were born with these evils, yet he being a great dissembler, and more cunning than any magician before him, power was given him by the devil, to remove those charms which others had placed. And there was one Pharisee named Zebedee, who of the Pharisees there did most opprobriously revile him, and vehemently urge these things against him; but I conceive he did it not to the well-liking of many there that heard him, even members of the council. And as the Pharisees that day played their parts against him; so did the Sadducees also endeavour (for some of that sect were also of

the council) to render Christ vile and odious to the rest of the Jews that were assembled there. I observed it was with them, as it was once with Herod and Pilate; though they two could not agree betwixt themselves at other times, yet they could agree together to crucify Christ: for the Pharisees and Sadducees, though they be much divided in opinion among themselves, yet did they at this time too much agree to disgrace and to dishonour Christ with their lies, calumnies and blasphemies: for the Sadducees, as well as the Pharisees, did in other things accuse him for a grand impostor, and for a broacher of corrupt doctrine; in that in his gospel he teacheth the resurrection from the dead, which they there denied to be true doctrine: but it is no new thing to see factions dissenting, to agree in some evil design against others, as I found it by experience. Being at Rome in the year 1650, which was the year of their Jubilee, there was a great strife between the Jesuits and the Friars of the order of St. Dominick, both which were against the protestants: and although their differences have been by the care and vigilance of the Pope so smothered, that the world hath not taken much notice thereof; yet this fire broke out into a flame greater than ever it was before, (as they cer-

tified me there) both by public disputings, and by bitter writings one against another, opening the vices and errors of one another's faction, thus seeking to disgrace one the other; which caused the Pope to threaten to excommunicate the authors of all such black and libellous books, that did tend to the dishonour of his clergy and religion, to make them infamous to the world. But this by the way.

We are come now to the seventh and last day of their council; and on this day, this was the main query amongst them: if Christ be come, then what rules and orders hath he left his church to walk by? This was a great question amongst them: and because they did not believe the New Testament, nor would be guided by it, they demanded some other instruction to direct and guide them in this point: thereupon six of the Roman clergy (who of purpose were sent from Rome by the Pope, to assist in this council) were called in, viz. two Jesuits, two Friars of the order of St. Augustine, and two of the order of St. Francis. And these being admitted into the council, began to open unto them the rules and doctrine of the holy church of Rome, (as they call it) which church they magnified to them for the holy catholic church of Christ, and their doc-

trine to be the infallible doctrine of Christ, and their rules to be the rules which the apostles left to the church for ever to be observed, and that the Pope is the Holy Vicar of Christ, and the successor of St. Peter: and for instance in some particulars they affirmed the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament, the religious observation of their holy days, the invocation of saints praying to the Virgin Mary, and her commanding power in heaven over her son, the holy use of the cross and images, with the rest of their idolatrous and superstitious worship; all which they commended to the assembly of the Jews, for the doctrine and rules of the apostles. But so soon as the assembly had heard these things from them, they were generally and exceedingly troubled thereat, and fell into high clamours against them and their religion, crying out, *No Christ, no woman God, no intercession of Saints, no worshipping of images, no praying to the Virgin Mary, &c.* Truly their trouble hereat was so great, that it troubled me to see their impatience: they rent their clothes, and cast dust upon their heads, and cried out aloud, *blasphemy, blasphemy*; and upon this the council broke up. Yet they assembled again the eighth day; and all that was done then, was to agree upon another meeting of their nation three years

after; which was concluded upon before their final dissolution.

I do believe there were many Jews there that would have been persuaded to own the Lord Jesus; and this I assure you for a truth, and it is for the honour of our religion, and the encouragement of our divines: one eminent Rabbi there did deliver me his opinion in conference with me, that he at first feared that those which were sent from Rome, would cause an unhappy period to their council; and professed to me, that he much desired the presence of some protestant divines, and especially of our English divines, of whom he had a better opinion, than of any other divines in the world: for he did believe that we have a great love to their nation; and this reason he gave me for their good opinion of our divines, because he understood that they did ordinarily pray for the conversion of their nation; which he did acknowledge to be a great token of our love towards them: and especially he commended the ministers of London for excellent preachers, and for their charity towards their nation; of whom he had heard a great fame. As for the church of Rome, they account it an idolatrous church, and therefore will not own their religion: and by conversing with the Jews, I found that they generally think, that there is

no other christian religion in the world, but that of the church of Rome; and for Rome's idolatry, they take offence at all christian religion. By which it appeareth that Rome is the greatest enemy of the Jews conversion.

For the place of the Jews next meeting, it is probable it will be in Syria, in which country I also was, and did there converse with the sect of the Rechabites, living in Syria. They still observe their old customs and rules; they neither sow nor plant, nor build houses; but live in tents, and often remove from one place to another, with their whole family, bag and baggage. And seeing I find, that by the Italian tongue I can converse with the Jews, or any other nation, in all the parts of the world where I have been; if God give me an opportunity, I shall willingly attend their next council. *The good Lord prosper it. Amen.*

A SHORT
HISTORICAL OUTLINE

OF THE

Disputes respecting the Authenticity of *The Verse of
The Three Heavenly Witnesses, or 1 John, Chap. V.
ver. 7.*

To the Reverend Herbert Marsh.

DEAR SIR,

I BEG leave to inscribe, with your respectable name, a short outline I have drawn of the *History of the Controversy respecting the celebrated Verse of the Three Heavenly Witnesses.*

Mr. Archdeacon Travis and Mr. Porson's letters I read, as they made their appearance; and I need not tell you, how much I was gratified with *Your Letters to the Archdeacon*.—As they came in my way, I perused several of the earlier authors, who have distinguished themselves in the different stages of the controversy: and, according to my usual custom, I committed to paper, notes of what I read, and remarks upon it. This, however, was entirely for my own information; and without the slightest view to a regular work, of any kind, upon the subject.

That they appear before you, in the following form, is principally owing to an accidental conversation I had, with a literary gentleman, on the general lawfulness of suppressing truth, when the disclosure of it, may prejudice a favourite cause, or scandalize the weak. Incidentally, your Dissertation *On the Origin of the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke* was mentioned. He allowed the learning and ingenuity displayed in it, but expressed his concern, that it was ever published, as, he said, it would be considered by many, as affording a strong argument against the Divine Inspiration of the Gospels. I took the liberty of observing to him, that, in point of fact, it afforded no ground for such an argument: I referred him to Fleury's admirable chapter, *Qu'il faut dire la vérité toute entière*, in his fourth discourse: I cited to him, the passage in one of Sir William Jones's discourses, in which he remarks that "all his historical
"researches had confirmed the Mosaic ac-
"counts of the Primitive World; and that his
"testimony on that subject ought to have the
"greater weight, because, if the result of his
"observations had been totally different, he
"should, however, have published them; not
"indeed with equal pleasure, but with equal

“ confidence; for truth is mighty, and, what-
“ ever be its consequences, must always pre-
“ vail.” I observed to him, that, though I
was a firm believer in the Divine Inspiration
of the sacred writings, I thought it an error
to suppose, that the truth of christianity can-
not be supported, unless it can be proved that
the sacred writings are divinely inspired; for
that, though they should be entitled to no
more credit, than the histories of Livy or Ta-
citus, or the Memoirs of Comines or Froissart,
still they would contain sufficient evidence of
the actions, the miracles and the morality of
Christ, to satisfy the strongest understanding.
I then suggested to him, that your hypothesis
was by no means inconsistent with the belief
of the general Inspiration of the sacred pen-
men: that those, who carried furthest, the be-
lief of their inspiration, admitted that the in-
spired writers might use all human means to
procure information on the subjects on which
they wrote; that few would deny they had
availed themselves of oral testimony, and that
so far as inspiration was concerned, there was
no essential difference between their writing
from hearsay, or from such a document as you
contend them to have used. You may sup-
pose, I expressed myself, in the highest terms,
of your hypothesis; I said, that, till it appeared,

nothing satisfactory had been published, which accounted, at the same time for, the literal agreement in some places, and for the literal disagreement in others, of the text of the three Gospels; that both their literal agreement and literal disagreement were completely accounted for, by your hypothesis; and that, though I did not take for granted, that it was impossible to account for them on any other, I thought it highly improbable that any other, at least beyond a modification of your hypothesis, would be produced. He observed, that all this would have its weight with a person accustomed to discussions of this kind: but that, he feared, the notion of the evangelists' using a common document, would, in the minds of many, take so much from the dignity of their character, as, in their opinion, to lessen, considerably, the credibility and authority of their narratives. "For instance," said he, "the sacred doctrine of the Trinity rests on no one particular text in the Scriptures; and yet I should be concerned to find an attack was made on the authenticity of any one verse, which was thought to afford a strong argument in its support, and therefore, I can never think those deserve well of the christian world, who have attacked the Authenticity of the

“verse of the *Three Heavenly Witnesses*.” This led to a conversation on the Authenticity of that celebrated verse, upon which he seemed very anxious for information. On my mentioning to him, that I had collected some notes on the subject, he desired the perusal of them. In consequence of his request, I have put them into order. Such as they are, I submit them, with great deference to your better judgment: and I am fully sensible, that in addressing them to you, I address them to one of the first Biblical Scholars of the age.

Dear Sir,

With the greatest respect,

I am your most obliged and obedient

Humble Servant,

Lincoln's Inn,
4th Nov. 1805.

CHARLES BUTLER.

I. JOHN. CHAP. V. VER. 7.

THE GENUINENESS OF THE VERSE OF THE THREE HEAVENLY WITNESSES, OR I. JOHN, Ch. V. Ver. 7, has engaged much of the attention of the learned during the three last centuries; so that, as Mr. Herbert Marsh observes, “there is hardly a library in all Europe, from “the Vatican to the Bodleian, from Madrid “to Moscow, in which the Manuscripts of the “Greek Testament have not been examined, “in order to determine, whether it really proceeded from the pen of St. John;” and, as Mr. Travis observes, “there are few subjects, “in the walks of philology or criticism, in “which, one simple question, as it appears on “a distant view, expands itself, on a nearer “approach, into so many complicated branches, “and covers so large a field of historical and “theological criticism.”

The following sheets may be found to contain I. Some account of the State of the Question; II. Of the History of the General Admission of The Verse into the printed Text; III. And of the Principal Disputes to which it has given rise; IV. An enquiry whether the General Sense of the text is affected by the omission of The Verse; V. Some account of

the argument in favour of its authenticity from Prescription; VI. Some account of the arguments against it from its absence from the Greek Manuscripts; VII. Of the answers to those arguments, from its supposed existence in the Manuscripts of Valla; VIII. from its supposed existence in the Manuscripts of the Complutensian Edition; IX. and from its supposed existence in the Manuscripts used by Robert Stephens; X. Some observations on the argument arising on its not being inserted in the Apostolos or Collection of Epistles read in the Greek Church; XI. On its not being inserted in the Oriental versions; XII. On its not being inserted in the most antient Latin Manuscripts; XIII. On the silence of all the Greek Fathers respecting it; XIV. On the silence of the most antient of the Latin Fathers respecting it; XV. Some account will then be given of what has been written respecting its first introduction into the Greek and Latin Manuscripts.

There are many other important topics for and against the authenticity of The Verse; and several of those which have been mentioned, lead to facts and subjects which are not noticed in these sheets;—but, what is noticed, will, perhaps, be found sufficient to shew the general turn and bearings of the controversy.

I.

THE STATE OF THE QUESTION is as follows:—
In the *Textus Receptus*, or received Greek text of the 1st Epistle of St. John, the 7th and 8th verses of the fifth chapter are expressed in these words:

Seventh Verse.

Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατήρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσιν.

Eighth Verse.

Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν ὁ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν.

In the vulgate, the verses are thus translated,

7th.

Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in cælo: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt.

8th.

Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra: spiritus, et aqua, & sanguis: et hi tres in unum sunt.

The question is, whether the whole of the 7th verse,—or, to speak with greater accuracy, whether the words, ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατήρ, ὁ λόγος,

καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσιν, in the 7th verse, and the words, καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, in the 8th verse, are genuine or spurious. If the passage in question be genuine, the text stands properly, as it is now expressed: if it be spurious, it should stand; “Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν, in the Greek;—and in the Latin, “Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant; “spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis: et hi tres in “unum sunt.”

II.

WITH respect to the HISTORY OF THE GENERAL ADMISSION OF THE VERSE INTO THE PRINTED TEXT:

1. The first event, which deserves attention, is the insertion of it in the *Latin Vulgate*:—what should be understood by the Vulgate, in this place, will be mentioned afterwards.

2. The second is *Erasmus's insertion of The Verse, in his three last editions of the Greek Testament*.

Erasmus had the honour of being the person who published the first printed edition of the Greek New Testament. He published five editions, in 1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535. The Complutensian Polyglott was printed in 1517, and published in 1522. In his edition of

1522, and in his two subsequent editions, Erasmus is supposed to have conformed his text, in different places, to the Complutensian edition: this makes his edition of 1519 the most esteemed of all he published. In his editions of 1516 and 1519, he did not insert The Verse of the Heavenly Witnesses. This gave rise to a dispute between him and Lee, an Englishman, and to a dispute between him and the Spanish Divines employed on the Complutensian Polyglott. He promised to restore The Verse, if it could be found in a single Greek Manuscript. Such a Manuscript was found,—the Manuscript now in Trinity College, Dublin, then called the Codex Britannicus, since called the Codex Montfortianus: and, in consequence of this discovery, Erasmus inserted The Verse in his edition of 1522, and retained it in his two subsequent editions.

3. The third of these events, is the insertion of The Verse in the *Complutensian Polyglott*. That noble work was begun in 1502, completed in 1517, and published in 1522.

4. The fourth of these events, is the insertion of The Verse by *Robert Stephens*, in his celebrated edition of the New Testament, in 1550: the text of it, with a very few variations, is similar to that of the fifth edition of Erasmus.

5. The fifth of these events, is the insertion of The Verse in *Beza's editions of the Greek Testament*: the first of his editions was published in 1565; he principally follows in it, the third edition of Robert Stephens. He printed other editions in 1576, 1582, 1589, and 1598; they do not contain every where the same text, but, in all of them, The Verse is inserted.

6. The sixth of these events, is the insertion of The Verse in the *Elzevir edition* of the Greek New Testament.

Five several printers of the name and family of Elzevir, are immortalized by the successful labours of their presses. Lewis, the eldest of them, was a printer of distinction in 1505; Daniel, the last of them, died in 1680.

Their edition of the Greek Testament was first printed, at Leyden, in 1624: it was printed from the third edition of Robert Stephens: where it varies from that edition, it follows generally, the edition of Beza: and, like each of those editions, contains The Verse. By this edition, the text, which had fluctuated, in the preceding editions, acquired a consistency. It was followed, in all subsequent editions, and, on that account, it deservedly acquired the appellation of *Editio Recepta*: the editors of it are unknown.

7. The seventh of these events, is the inser-

tion of The Verse in the modern edition of *Luther's translation of the New Testament*. From the translations published by himself, he uniformly rejected it. The last edition, which was in the press, while he was living, but was not quite finished till after his death, was that of 1546. In that, as in all his former editions, it is wholly absent. Luther concludes his preface to that edition, with, what may be termed his dying request, that, upon no account, his translation should be altered, in the slightest instance. The Verse, however, was inserted in the Frankfort edition of 1574; and, for a time, inserted in some, and rejected in other editions: but, since the beginning of the 17th century, with the exception of the Wittenberg edition of 1607, the insertion of it, in the editions of Luther's Translation, has been general.

8. It should be added, that the principal printed editions of the Greek New Testament since the Elzevir, are those of *Mill*, *Bengel*, *Wetstein*, and *Greisbach*. The Verse is found in the text of them all:—It is determined by the two first, to be genuine; by the two last, to be spurious. To the credit of all the editors, it should be observed, that, notwithstanding their particular sentiments, they state, with equal candour and fairness, the arguments for and the arguments against The Verse.

III.

WITH respect to THE PRINCIPAL DISPUTES
TO WHICH IT HAS GIVEN RISE:

1. The first, is *the dispute between Erasmus and Lee, and between Erasmus and the Editors of the Complutensian Polyglott.*

It has been mentioned that Erasmus published five editions of the Greek New Testament. He did not insert The Verse in the two editions of 1516 and 1519. For this, he was reprehended, in the severest terms, by Lee or Ley, an English divine of some note, afterwards advanced, by Henry the eighth, to the Archbishoprick of York; and by Stunica, a Spanish divine, employed on the Complutensian Polyglott. In answer to them, he declared his readiness to insert The Verse, if a single manuscript should be found to contain it. As The Verse was inserted in the Complutensian Polyglott, and ought not to have been inserted in it, without the authority of one or more manuscripts, Stunica was bound, in honour, to produce such a manuscript: but he produced none. (For the controversy between Erasmus and Lee, see *Burigni, Vie d'Erasme*, 2 vol. 8. Paris 1757, 1 vol. 372—381;—for the controversy between Erasmus and Stunica, see the same work, 2 vol. 163—175; and for Stunica's at

tack and Erasmus's defence, see the *Crit. Sac. Tom. vii. p. 1229*). At length, the Codex Montfortianus, then called the Codex Britannicus, now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, was found to contain The Verse. In performance of his promise, Erasmus inserted The Verse in his edition of 1522; and retained it in his editions of 1527, and 1535.

2. *The second dispute*, respecting the authenticity of The Verse, may be considered to have begun with *Sandius* the Arian, and to have continued, till the note respecting it, in Mr. Gibbons' History, provoked a fresh dispute.

By Sandius, it was pointedly attacked in his *Nucleus Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, Cosmopoli 1669, 8vo. Col. 1676, 4to. and his *Interpretationes Paradoxæ in Johannem*.

Its authenticity is defended by *Mr. Selden*. In his treatise *de Synedriis Ebræorum*, L. 2. C. 4. S. 4, he sums up the arguments on each side of the question, and pronounces in favour of The Verse.

A regular and able attack on it was made by *Father Simon*, in his *Histoire critique du Texte du Nouveau Testament*, Rot. 1680, 4to. Part I. Ch. 18, Part II. Ch. 9, and in several other parts of his writings.

It found a zealous advocate in *Martin*, the

Pastor of the church of Utrecht:—in support of it, he published the following works:

Deux Dissertations Critiques, la premiere sur le verset 7 du Ch. V. de la premiere Epistre de St. Jean, "Il y a trois au Ciel," &c. dans laquelle on prouve l'authenticité de ce texte. La seconde sur le passage de Joseph touchant Jesus Christ, ou l'on fait voir que ce passage n'est point supposé Utrecht 1717, 8vo.

Examen de la reponse de Monsieur Emlyn a la Dissertation Critique sur le verset 7 du Ch. V. de la 1 Epistre de St. Jean, Londres 1719, 8vo.

La verité du Texte de la premiere Epistre de St. Jean V. 7. démontrée par des preuves qui sont au dessus de toute exception, prises du temoignage de l'Eglise Latine, et de l'Eglise Grecque, et en particulier d'un manuscrit du Nouveau Testament, trouvée en Irlande. Par David Martin, Pasteur de l'Eglise a Utrecht. Utrecht 1721.

The Verse found an able adversary in Mr. Thomas Emlyn, an eminent presbyterian divine, whose sufferings for his religious principles, all true christians must lament and reprobate; he attacked it in the following works.

A full enquiry into the original authority of that text, 1 John, v. 7. London, 1715, 8vo. reprinted in 1719, 1757.

An answer to Mr. Martin's critical dissertation, on 1 John, v. 7. London, 1719, 8vo.

Reply to Mr. Martin's examination of the answer, London, 1720.

Martin also met with an able adversary in *Cæsar De Missy*, a native of Berlin, French preacher in the Savoy, and French Chaplain at St. James's, the author of *Four Letters against the genuineness of the verse, inserted in the 8th and 9th volumes of the Journal Britannique.*

The *Bible de Vence*, published at Paris, about the middle of the last century, Tom. xiii. p. 5, contains a candid, learned, and sensible Dissertation in favour of the verse. The author cites in it, *Ketneri Dissertatio hujus loci, Dissertatio singularis; Roger, Dissertatio Critico-Theologica, in hunc locum, Paris 1713.*

A regular attack upon The Verse, was made by *Dr. Benson*, a presbyterian divine, in his *Paraphrase of the Gospels*, 2 vol. 4to. 1756.

Sir Isaac Newton is the author of a treatise against the genuineness of The Verse. It made its appearance, under the title of, *Two Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to Mr. Le Clerc* 1754, reprinted from a manuscript in the possession of Dr. Ekins, Dean of Carlisle, in the fifth volume of Doctor Horsley's late edition of Sir Isaac Newton's works.

They are written with the force, candour, and perspicuity, which might be expected from Sir Isaac Newton.

The English opposition to the verse, in this stage of the controversy, is respectably closed by *Mr. Bowyer*, the learned printer's *Conjectures on the New Testament*, London, 4to. 1781.

In the mean time, The Verse had been the subject of much controversy in Germany. Some mention of the principal works which there have made their appearance on this subject, may be found in the note on St. John's first Epistle, in *Schimidius's Historia Antiqua et Vindicatio canonis sacri veteris novique Testamenti*, Lipsiæ, 8vo. 1774, an excellent publication of the high Lutheran School; in *Bengel's Gnomon*, 2 vol. 4to. Tubingæ 1773; and in *Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament*, translated by *Mr. Herbert Marsh*, vol. 4. c. 21.—Michaelis, had, at first, declared himself an advocate for the verse, in his *Vindiciæ plurium lectionum codicis Græci Novi Testamenti adversus Whistonum et ab eo latas leges criticas*, Halæ 1751; but, afterwards, became one of its most powerful opposers, in his *Historical and Critical Collections*, relative to what are called the proof passages, in dogmatic theology.

3. This leads to the third stage of the controversy: in the 118th Note to the 37th Chapter of his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, (4 vol. p. 545, 4to.), Mr. Gibbon asserts, that "The Three Witnesses have been

“ established, in our Greek Testament, by the
“ prudence of Erasmus; the honest bigotry of
“ the Complutensian editors, the typographical
“ fraud, or error, of Robert Stephens, in the
“ placing a crotchet; or the deliberate fraud or
“ strange misapprehension of Theodore Beza.”

This note was attacked by *Mr. Travis*, Archdeacon of Chester, in three letters, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1782. He printed them, with two others, in a separate publication, in quarto, in 1784, and reprinted the five, with considerable further additions, in octavo, in 1786. To these, *Mr. Professor Porson* replied in several letters, published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1788, 1789. In the *Magazine* for January 1790, another letter, on the subject, appeared from Mr. Travis. Mr. Porson replied to it, in the *Magazine* of the following month, and soon afterwards, all Mr. Porson's Letters, with additions, which increased their number to twelve, were published in one octavo volume,—an eternal monument of his uncommon erudition, critical sagacity and wit. In 1794, Mr. Travis republished his letters, with considerable additions; he took no particular notice in them, of Mr. Porson's letters to him, but professes to answer, one after another, the arguments of other distinguished opponents of *The Verse*. In 1795, *Mr. Herbert Marsh* pub-

lished a series of letters to Mr. Travis, entitled *Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis, in vindication of one of the Translator's notes to Michaelis's introduction, and in confirmation of the opinion, that a Greek Manuscript now preserved in the public Library of the university of Cambridge is one of the seven, which are quoted by Robert Stephens, at 1 John V. 7. with an Appendix, containing a review of Mr. Travis's Collation of the Greek MSS. which he examined at Paris: an extract from Mr. Pappelbaum's Treatise on the Berlin MS. and an Essay on the Origin and object of the Velesian readings. By the Translator of Michaelis, Leipzig and London, 1795.*

The principal object of Mr. Marsh's letters was, as the title expresses it, to vindicate his assertion, in one of his notes to his translation of Michaelis's introduction, that the Greek Manuscript referred to in the title of his book, is one of the seven, which are quoted by Robert Stephens, at 1 John v. 7: but his Letters abound with most learned, ingenious, and profound remarks on almost every point, which comes into consideration, in the discussion of the genuineness of The Verse.

Mr. Clarke has lately circulated among his friends, an interesting Pamphlet on the subject of The Verse, with this title, *Observations on the Text of the Three Divine Witnesses, accom-*

panied with a Plate, containing two very correct Fac-Similes of 1 John, Chap. V. verse 7, 8, and 9, as they stand in the first Edition of the New Testament, printed at Complutum, 1514, and in the Codex Montfortii, a Manuscript marked C. 97, in the Library of Trinity College Dublin. By A. Clarke, Manchester, 1805. It is to be hoped he will put it into public circulation.

Such have been the principal stages of this controversy: the following may be found to contain a distinct view of the Principal Arguments used by the combatants in support of their opinions.

IV.

THE first object of the enquiry, is to ascertain WHETHER THE GENERAL SENSE OR IMPORT OF THE TEXT, IS ASSISTED OR INJURED, BY THE INSERTION OR OMISSION OF THE VERSE. The ascertainment of this fact, will establish a strong argument for or against the internal evidence of the Text. This is an enquiry of some nicety; the verse is obscure, is susceptible of more than one construction, and the partisans of each opinion, have attempted to fix that sense on it, which best suits their cause.

This much must be granted, that The Verse is not absolutely necessary to the sense of the

text. Without it, the text will stand as follows. “ Who is he that overcometh the world,
“ but he, who believeth that Jesus is the son
“ of God? This is he, who came by water and
“ blood, even Jesus the Christ; not, by the
“ water only, but by the water and the blood.
“ And it is the Spirit who witnessed: because
“ the spirit is truth. Thus there are three who
“ bear witness, the Spirit; and the water, and
“ the blood; and the three agree in one.”

Whatever be its right construction, the sentence is compleat and perfect in itself. Jesus, the Christ, is the person to whom testimony is borne; the spirit, the water, and the blood, are the witnesses bearing testimony to him. Thus without further aid, the construction and meaning of the sentence are compleat. The Verse therefore is not essentially necessary to the text.

V.

1. ERASMUS has been stated to have made the first attack on The Verse. At that time, from its general insertion in the manuscript and printed copies of the Latin text, the universal opinion of the Latin church, was in its favour. The text of these copies had been adopted by the spiritual and temporal courts, appealed to in disputes, taught in the schools,

and praised and commented on by the learned men of every state, within the latin pale. *Prescription* therefore, if prescription be pleadable in these cases, was in its favour.

2. If we believe the opposers of The Verse, the introduction of The Verse, was first owing to the Spiritualization of the 8th verse by the African fathers, which became common in the 4th century: The Verse gained little ground till the 8th; and was universally received for genuine in the 12th. It is remarkable, that, not the slightest vestige of opposition to it, is discoverable, in the works of those times, which have reached us; nothing, which intimates, that, even a suspicion had been entertained of the genuineness of the verse.

3. Here the communicant with the see of Rome takes an higher ground. The council of Trent, Session 4, declared Anathema to all, "who should not receive for holy and canonical, all and every part of the Books of the Old and New Testament, as they had been accustomedly read in the Catholic Church, and as they stood in the old vulgate edition:" And in the sixth session, declared "the Vulgate to be authentic, and that no one should, on any pretence, dare or presume to reject it."

Now, when the council of Trent made this

decree, The Verse had long been accustomably read in the catholic church, and long made a part in the old vulgate edition; those, therefore, in communion with the see of Rome, who now reject the verse, fall within the council's Anathema.

To these objections the adversaries of The Verse reply:

1st. That, in the times, of which we are now speaking, there was little of biblical criticism, and that no works of those times have reached us, in which such an objection either would be made, or would be noticed.

2dly, That, before too great a stress is laid on its insertion in the vulgate, an accurate notion should be formed of the edition denoted, in these cases, by the appellation of the Latin Vulgate. It does not denote the edition, anterior to St. Jerome, which, from its superior celebrity, was called the Antient Italic; it does not denote the edition published by St. Jerome; it merely denotes that edition, which, at the time of the council of Trent, was generally in use; and afterwards served as the ground work of the editions published, first by Sixtus Quintus, afterwards by Clement the eighth, and which last edition is the Archtype of the modern vulgate: that this edition partook more of the modern, than of antient versions; and,

that standing by itself, it is, in a matter of criticism, of no authority.

3dly. To suppose, that, the council of Trent pronounced the Vulgate to be wholly free from error, and that no one was at liberty to vary from it, in translation or exposition, is going to an extreme. In declaring it to be authentic, the council did not declare the Vulgate to be inspired or infallible; the council only pronounced it to be inerrant, where the dogmata of faith or morals are concerned. In this decision, every Roman Catholic must acquiesce, as he receives the Scripture from the Church, under her authority, and with her interpretation: but further than this, the Council leaves the Vulgate in mere matters of criticism, to the private judgment of every individual. To this effect, Father Salmeron, who was one of the ten first disciples of St. Ignatius, and who assisted at the council of Trent in the character of one of the pope's theologians, is cited by the Abbé de Vence, to have expressed himself in the third of his prologomena.

In this stage of the argument, Bossuet takes very high ground, in one of his Letters to Leibnitz, published by Mr. Dutens, in his edition of Leibnitz's works; as, in that letter, Bossuet seems to place the general acquiescence of the Roman Catholic church, in the authen-

ticity of The Verse, among the Traditions which the church receives, and the faithful are therefore bound to adopt.—As every thing, which has fallen from the pen of that great man, is important, and the passage in question is little known, it is here transcribed at length.

“ J'avoue au reste, Monsieur, çé que vous
“ dites des anciens exemplaires Grecs sur le pas-
“ sage, *Tres Sunt*, &c. mais vous sçavez aussi
“ bien que moi, que l'article contenu dans ce
“ passage ne doit pas être pour cela révoqué
“ en doute, étant d'ailleurs établi, non-seule-
“ ment *par la Tradition des Eglises*, mais encore
“ par l'Ecriture très evidemment. Vous sça-
“ vez aussi sans doute, que ce passage se trouve
“ reçu dans tout l'Occident; ce qui parôit ma-
“ nifeste, sans même remonter plus haut, par
“ la production qu'en fait S. Fulgence dans ses
“ Ecrits, et même dans une excellente Con-
“ fession de foi présentée unanimément au Roi
“ Huneric par toute l'Eglise d'Afrique. Ce
“ temoignage produit par un aussi grand Theo-
“ logien, et par cette sçavante Eglise, n'ayant
“ point été reproché par les hérétiques, & au
“ contraire étant confirmé par le sang de tant
“ de martyrs, et encore par tant de miracles,
“ dont cette Confession de foi fut suivie,
“ est une démonstration de la Tradition, du
“ moins de toute l'Eglise d'Afrique l'une des

“ plus illustres du monde. On trouve même
 “ dans S. Cyprien une allusion manifeste a ce
 “ passage, qui à passé naturellement dans notre
 “ Vulgate; & confirme la Tradition de tout
 “ l'Occident. Je suis, &c.

“ J. Benigne, Evêque de Meaux.”

Such is the state of the argument, so far as the authenticity of The Verse depends on the general prepossession, in its favour, before the impression of the Greek original.

It certainly imposes on the adversaries of the Verse, the Obligation of Attack. The following are their principal arguments against its authenticity, and the principal answers to them.

VI.

THEY say, that there is hardly a library in Europe, in which the *Manuscripts of the Greek Testament* have not been examined, in order to determine, whether the Verse really proceeded from the pen of St. John: and that the result of this long and laborious examination is, that, of all the Greek Manuscripts of the Catholic Epistles, now extant, of which more than a hundred have been quoted by name, independently of those which have been quoted in the aggregate, (as where Dr. Griesbach, Professor Birch or Professor Alter speak, at large, of all the Manuscripts they have seen), the passage

has been discovered in one Manuscript only,—the Codex Montfortianus, which is neither of sufficient antiquity nor of sufficient integrity, to be intitled to a voice in a question of sacred criticism.

This, the advocates of The Verse generally admit;—but reply that, though no such Manuscript be now extant, there existed formerly Greek Manuscripts, which contained The Verse,—for which they cite those, which were in the possession of Valla, the Complutensian editors, and Robert Stephens.

VII.

WITH respect to THE MANUSCRIPTS OF VALLA;—the advocates of The Verse assert, that Valla had seven Greek Manuscripts of the 1st Epistle of St. John, and that all his Manuscripts exhibited The Verse. They observe, that it was his plan to mark, in his annotations, those passages, in which the Vulgate receded from the Greek: that he takes no notice, in his annotations, of the omission of The Verse, in any of his Manuscripts; from which they infer, that it was contained in them all.

The adversaries of The Verse reply,—that we are ignorant of the number of Manuscripts which Valla used, and of his plan of annotation: that, though it be probable he had seven Greek

Manuscripts, which exhibited St. John's Gospel, ch. vii. v. 29, where he expressly mentions that number of Manuscripts, it does not appear, and it is highly improbable, he should have the like number of Greek Manuscripts of the 1st Epistle of St. John: that The Verse might have been wanting in the Latin text, with which he made his collation; that he might studiously have avoided a remark, which, in the country and the times in which he lived, might have exposed him to persecution: that it is highly probable that some or other of his Manuscripts have been quoted under different titles: that no Manuscript contains The Verse, and that, of course, there is the same probability of none of his Manuscripts having contained it, as there is that we are now in possession of some or other of his Manuscripts. From these circumstances, the adversaries of The Verse infer, that nothing near to a conclusion in its favour can be drawn from his silence respecting the passage in his Manuscripts.

It is observable that Mr. Archdeacon Travis objects heavily to Erasmus, that, when he was pressed by Lee, with the contents of Valla's Manuscripts, he attempted to bear him down by other arguments, but did not deny that The Verse was to be found in the Manuscripts of Valla, which Manuscripts the Archdeacon as-

serts, were in Erasmus's possession. But the Archdeacon appears to have been mistaken in this supposition: Erasmus was the Editor of Valla's Commentary; but it no where appears that he was in possession of Valla's Manuscripts, and he himself asserts the contrary.—Such are the obligations of literature to Erasmus, that men of letters should eagerly rise in his defence, whenever they think he is unjustly accused.

VIII.

WITH respect to THE MANUSCRIPTS USED BY THE COMPLUTENSIAN EDITORS:—The Polyglott Bible, printed at Alcala or Complutum, under the Patronage, and at the expence of Cardinal Ximenes, was begun in 1502; the whole impression of it was finished in 1517, and published in 1522. It is certain that the Cardinal spared no expence in procuring Manuscripts; but, whether he had any that were truly valuable, has been much doubted. The Verse has its place in this Edition; from which its advocates infer, that it was exhibited by all, or at least the greatest part of the Manuscripts used by the Complutensian Editors. This inference is denied by the adversaries of The Verse. They contend, that, from the deference, which the Complutensian Editors had for the Vulgate, they were honestly persuaded, that

The Verse was genuine, and therefore inserted, and thought themselves warranted in inserting in their text, a translation of it from the Latin. This, they say, appears clearly from the dispute between Stunica and Erasmus:—the former, in the bitterest terms, reproached the latter with the omission of The Verse, in his printed edition: Erasmus, with equal vehemence, challenged Stunica to produce a single Greek Manuscript in support of The Verse; Stunica did not cite a single Manuscript, but persisted in urging the authority of the Latin.—This, Mr. Archdeacon Travis owns himself unable to account for satisfactorily.

IX.

WITH respect to ROBERT STEPHENS'S MANUSCRIPTS;—To explain this part of the case, to persons unacquainted with Stephens's celebrated edition of the Greek Testament, which gives rise to the present question, and which was the edition published by him in 1550,—it is necessary to observe that the text of it is a re-impression of the fifth Edition of Erasmus, with a few alterations. In the margin, Stephens quotes various readings from the Complutensian Edition, and from fifteen Greek Manuscripts, eight of which were borrowed from the King's library, six were procured from various

quarters, and one was collated in Italy. The Complutensian text and the fifteen copies he denoted, when he cited various readings from them by the Greek numerals α' , β' , γ' , as far as fifteen. The copy α' , he quotes throughout the whole New Testament, because, like other printed editions, the Complutensian edition, which it denotes, contains the whole. Of his fifteen Manuscripts, he quotes some in one part, some in another; but none throughout the whole New Testament. In the Catholic Epistles, Stephens has quoted only seven Manuscripts, which he denotes by the numerals δ' , ϵ' , ζ' , θ' , ι' , $\kappa\alpha'$, $\lambda\gamma'$, of which the four, marked δ' , ϵ' , ζ' , ι' , were from the King's library, and the other three, θ' , $\kappa\alpha'$, $\lambda\gamma'$, were among the six, which he had procured elsewhere. At the 1 John v. 7, the disputed passage stands thus in Stephens's text, $\epsilon\upsilon \tau\omicron\omega \sigma\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omega\tilde{\nu}, \delta\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho\ \delta\ \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma, \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\nu\ \pi\nu\epsilon\eta\mu\alpha,$
 $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\ \omicron\iota\ \tau\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\ \epsilon\epsilon\varsigma\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\iota\nu\ \omicron\iota\ \mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon$
 $\tau\eta\ \gamma\eta.$

In the margin, Stephens has quoted the seven Manuscripts just mentioned, with an obêlus prefixed. Now, according to his plan of annotation, when any word or number of words is omitted in the quoted Manuscript, he expresses it by placing in his text, an obêlus before the first word, and a little crotchet in the shape of a semicircle, and of the size of a

comma, after the last word. At the place in question, the obêlus is set before ἐν, which precedes τῷ οὐρανῷ and the semicircle immediately after οὐρανῷ: so that by this notation the words ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, and not the whole passage, are represented as absent from these seven Manuscripts. But, as compositors are not infallible, and marks of reference are frequently placed wrong, through various accidents in printing, this edition of Robert Stephens had not been published many years, when Lucas Brugensis suspected, that Stephens's compositor had here made a mistake, and that he ought to have set the crotchet, not after οὐρανῷ, but after γῆ, that is, after the last word of the controverted passage, and not after the third: for, even in the sixteenth century it was well known, that the Greek Manuscripts, in general, omitted the whole passage; but no one, either before or since the time of Robert Stephens, has ever seen a Greek Manuscript which omitted the three first words only. This, however, was not admitted by the advocates of The Verse, who still quoted these seven Manuscripts, as authority, not indeed for the whole passage, but, what is of some importance in a case of necessity, for at least three quarters of it. About a hundred years after the time of Lucas Brugensis, Simon examined all the Greek Ma-

nuscripts in the Library of the King of France, and found that not only ἐν τῷ ὑπανῶ, but that all the following words, as far as ἐν τῇ γῇ were absent from them all: and, as four out of the seven, which Stephens has quoted at 1 John v. 7. had been borrowed from this library, though Simon did not attempt to determine what particular four, he concluded, that Stephens's representation at that passage was inaccurate. To evade this argument, the patrons of Stephens's semicircle had recourse to the hypothesis, that the eight Manuscripts, which, in the time of Robert Stephens, belonged to the King's Library, were no longer there, and even that they were no longer in existence: a position, which, though wholly incapable of defence, is indispensibly necessary for those, who maintain, that the semicircle is set right, because the Manuscripts which still exist, both in Paris and in other places, decide against them. From this untenable post, they were driven, a few years afterwards, by Le Long, who, in 1720, undertook to determine the particular eight Manuscripts, in the royal library, which had been used by Robert Stephens, and consequently four out of the seven, which are quoted at 1 John v. 7. The eight Manuscripts he imperfectly described in the *Journal des Sçavans* for June 1720: but he gave a more

complete and accurate account of them in the edition of his *Bibliotheca Sacra*, which was published in 1723, soon after the death of the author.

From this time, the accuracy of Stephens's semicircle appeared to be given up, and his Manuscripts, as evidence for the authenticity of The Verse, appeared to be wholly abandoned. But, in 1791, Mr. Archdeacon Travis took a journey to Paris, in order to compare Stephens's quotations from the eight Manuscripts, which he had borrowed from the royal library, with the readings of those on which Le Long had fixed, as the eight, which were used by Stephens. In this comparison, he found, according to his own account, that the quotations made by R. Stephens differed, so frequently, from the readings in Le Long's Manuscripts, as to warrant the inference, that these were not the eight, which Stephens used. The grounds of his opinion, he mentions at length, in the sixth Edition of his Letters to Mr. Gibbon:—they have been attacked by Mr. Marsh.—Previously to the publication of Mr. Travis's last edition of his Letters to Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Marsh in one of his notes to Michaelis, (Vol. II. p. 789), had informed the world, that he had found a Greek Manuscript, marked K. x. 6. 4, in the public library of the University of Cam-

bridge, which, he had discovered to be the Manuscript which Stephens had quoted by the mark, γ , and consequently, one of the seven Manuscripts which are quoted in Stephens's edition of 1550, at 1 John v. 7; and, at the same time, assigned the reasons, which induced him to believe, that the Manuscript in question had been at Paris, and that it was no other than the Manuscript which Stephens called γ . Now, this manuscript omits not only $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \sigma\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\tilde{\omega}$, but all the following words, including $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\tilde{\eta}\ \gamma\tilde{\eta}$;—and, since Stephens quotes all his seven Manuscripts of the Catholic Epistles for the same omission, it follows, that, as one of them omitted the whole passage, the others did the same. Of the truth of this inference, Mr. Travis was well aware; and, in his last edition of his letters to Mr. Gibbon, attacked Mr. Marsh's arguments in support of the identity of the Manuscript K κ . 6. 4; and Stephens's γ' .

To this Mr. Herbert Marsh answered, by “*his letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis, published in 1795.*”

In this publication, Mr. Marsh states the several steps, which led to the discovery of the identity of the two Manuscripts. He establishes it by various proofs; and, by an application of an Algebraical Theorem to the documents pro-

duced by him, he shews, that the probability in favour of the identity of the Manuscripts, is, to the probability of the contrary, as two nonillions to a unity. This is one of the most curious instances which have appeared, of the application of mathematical calculation to a critical enquiry.—One of the points, principally discussed by Mr. Marsh, is, how far the inference, deduced from a general and remarkable similarity, in favour of the identity of Manuscripts, is counteracted by a certain number of discordances; a consideration of the utmost importance, in all collations of Manuscripts: but Mr. Marsh's treatise abounds with other curious and important remarks, and is a mine of recondite and useful biblical erudition.

The nature of this enquiry does not admit of more, than this general outline of that part of the controversy, which arises from the subject of Robert Stephens's Manuscripts. Persons, to whom the subject is new, would be surprised, in their investigation of it, to find that it embraces so wide a field of enquiry. Perhaps, nothing has contributed so much to the accurate knowledge, which seems now to be obtained of the Greek text of the New Testament, as the discussions to which The Verse has given rise.

X.

THE adversaries of The Verse continue the attack:—They observe that there are many Greek Manuscripts of THE APOSTOLOS, or the collection of lessons, read in the Greek churches, from the Epistles, and which they call the Apostolos, to distinguish it from the Lectio-narium, which contain the lessons from the Gospels. Now, they observe, that no one has been able to discover The Verse in a single Manuscript Apostolos.

The advocates of The Verse observe, that it is to be found in the first printed edition of the Apostolos, which appeared at Venice in 1602; but the adversaries of The Verse contend, that this does not afford the slightest argument in favour of the authenticity of The Verse, as, in all probability, the Lessons were printed from the modern Greek Text, into which it had long found its way.

XI.

THE adversaries of The Verse further contend,—THAT IT IS WHOLLY UNKNOWN TO ANY OF THE ORIENTAL VERSIONS WHICH WERE MADE FROM THE TEXT, while it was in its original purity. It is totally unknown to the Ma-

nuscripts of the Old Syriac Version: it is wanting in the New Syriac or Phyloxenian Version, which was made in the beginning of the sixth century, and collated with Greek Manuscripts, at Alexandria, in the beginning of the seventh: it is wanting also in the Arabic Manuscripts, as well of the version printed in the Polyglott, as in that published by Erpenius: it is wanting in the Ethiopic, the Cophtic, the Sahidic and the Armenian versions.

To this, the advocates of The Verse reply, that all those Versions, except the Armenian, were made from the Syriac, which, they say, is faulty beyond description. That, we know little of the Armenian Version; but that The Verse is contained in the first printed Edition of that Version, published at Amsterdam, in 1666; from which they infer, that The Verse was contained in the Manuscript or Manuscripts, from which that edition was printed. We certainly know little of the Armenian Version; but no one has actually pretended to have seen The Verse in any Armenian Manuscript; and Professor Alter, in the second volume of his edition of the Iliad, page 85, mentions his having been informed by “Pater “Zohrab Armenus, Bibliothecarius Meghitarensium in insula S. Lazari Venetiis,” that having examined many Armenian Manuscripts,

in the Library of his convent, he had not found The Verse in any one of them.

XII.

THE adversaries of The Verse contend that —IT IS WANTING IN FORTY OF THE MOST ANTIENT MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LATIN VERSION. This, they say, equipoises, if it do not overbalance the authority of those Latin Manuscripts in which it is contained.

In 1743, Sabatier published, at Rheims, his “Bibliorum sacrorum Latinæ versiones antiquæ, seu vetus Italica, et ceteræ quæcunque in codicibus Manuscriptis reperiri potuerunt, quæ cum vulgatâ Latinâ et cum textu Greco comparantur.” The object of the work, is to restore the text of the antient Italic, by putting together the quotations of the Bible, in the works of the Antient Fathers; where none can be found, Sabatier supplies the chasm from the Vulgate. He was so fortunate as to find, in different parts of the works of St. Augustin, a sufficient number of quotations, to form the whole of the four first chapters, and likewise the beginning of the fifth. But, when he comes to the seventh verse, this very voluminous father, who wrote not less than ten treatises on the Epistle in question, suddenly

deserts him, though immediately after this critical place, he comes again to his assistance. This chasm, therefore, Sabatier fills up, by a quotation from Vigilius Tapsensis, who wrote at the end of the fifth century.

XIII.

THE adversaries of The Verse urge,—that THE GREEK FATHERS HAVE NEVER QUOTED IT, in their warmest disputes about the Trinity, which they certainly would have done, if the passage had been known to them; and this, they observe, is the more remarkable, as they often quote and dwell upon the sixth and eighth verses in succession, without once mentioning or even slightly alluding to the seventh verse. This is one of the strongest parts of the cause of the adversaries of The Verse. Its advocates have little to reply to it, except that it proves no more, than that The Verse did not exist in the copies, which those Fathers used; that many works written by those Fathers, and many other works, written at the same time, have not come down to us; and that The Verse might have been mentioned in all or some or one of these.

XIV.

THE adversaries of The Verse urge the same argument from THE SILENCE OF THE LATIN FATHERS TILL THE FOURTH CENTURY:—Here, they are met by the advocates of The Verse, who contend, that, though the Verse is not quoted, it is expressly referred to by several of the earliest Latin Fathers; particularly Tertullian and St. Cyprian.—The adversaries of The Verse reply, that none of these passages refer to the seventh verse, but refer to the eighth verse, by mystically interpreting the Spirit, the blood and the water, mentioned in that verse, of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. They dwell much on a passage of St. Austin, in which he expressly says, that “the Spirit, the blood and “the water, may be understood, *without any absurdity*, of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost,” an expression, which, most assuredly, St. Augustin would never have used, if he had been aware of the seventh verse.

It is certain that The Verse is mentioned in St. Jerome's Preface to the Canonical Epistles; but the authenticity of these Prefaces, first suspected by Erasmus, is given up by Dom Martianay, the Benedictine Monk, and almost all modern writers.

XV.

THE adversaries of The Verse thus account for THE INTERPOLATION OF IT INTO THE TEXT OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.—The mystical interpretation of the 8th verse, which some of the Fathers adopted, was, as they alledge, frequently inserted in their commentaries, and sometimes in the margin of their copies: by degrees it slid from the margin into the text; insensibly it came to be considered as part of it: at first, it appeared sometimes in one form, and sometimes in another, and was inserted sometimes before, and sometimes after the eighth verse: at length the dignity of the subject gave it a precedence over the eighth verse: and thus it came to be considered as the seventh verse of the chapter. Probably it had gained a place in no Manuscript, as part of the text till some time after the death of St. Austin: and the eighth century may be considered as the æra of its final settlement in the Latin Text.

From the Latin Text it was transplanted into the Greek. At the General Council of Lateran, held in 1215, The Verse was quoted from the Greek. The Acts of the Council, with the quotation of the Vulgate, were translated into the Greek, and sent to the Greek churches. About a century after this period, the Greeks

began to quote The Verse; *the first Greek writers who have quoted it, are Manuel Callecas, who lived in the fourteenth, and Bryennius, who lived in the fifteenth century*; and it is observable, that, when the passage first appeared in Greek, it presented itself under as many different shapes, as when it first made its appearance in Latin.

XVI.

THIS, perhaps, may be considered an outline of the History of the Controversy respecting this celebrated Verse. It has the merit of having rendered invaluable services to the Biblical criticism of the sacred text. It has led to a minute discussion of several curious and interesting topics of literary history, particularly the rules for judging of the age of Manuscripts, the nature of Manuscript collations, the different merits of the principal editions of the Old and New Testament, the early versions of them, and the characters of the different persons, by whom they were edited or published. A full and complete history of the controversy, which should enter, at large, into all its particulars, would be an invaluable acquisition to Literature.

Considering Mr. Archdeacon Travis was a mere novice in biblical criticism, when he first

engaged in the controversy, he performed wonders: but it was his misfortune to combat with giants.

The principal argument in its favour, which appears not to be satisfactorily answered, is its having a place in the Confession of Faith, presented by the African Bishops to Huneric. Mr. Porson has treated this argument with abundance of wit: but it seems to deserve a more serious treatment. It is not necessary to suppose, as Mr. Porson humourously says, that, each of the four hundred Bishops had a Bible in his pocket, and the useful place doubled down.—If there were such a number of copies exhibiting The Verse, as induced the Bishops to adopt it into the confession of faith, this fact would afford strong ground to contend, that it was inserted in the copies then generally in use.

This circumstance, therefore, may be thought to deserve further investigation;—and a more complete examination of the Manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris, is much to be desired: in other respects, the topics of argument respecting the authenticity of this celebrated Verse, appear to have been exhausted.

To the Reverend Herbert Marsh.

DEAR SIR,

WHEN I had last the pleasure of your company, I mentioned to you, that I thought the argument in favour of The Verse of *The Three Heavenly Witnesses*, or 1 John, Chap. V. ver. 7, from the CONFESSION OF FAITH PRESENTED BY THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS TO HUNERIC in 484, had not been sufficiently attended to:—I now beg leave to trouble you with my thoughts upon it.—I shall first copy Mr. Archdeacon Travis's account of it, from his Letters to Mr. Gibbon, 3d edit. p. 57.

I.

“ IN A. D. 484, an assembly of African
 “ Bishops was convened at Carthage by King
 “ Huneric the Vandal and the Arian. The
 “ style of the edict, issued by Huneric on this
 “ occasion, seems worthy of notice. He therein
 “ requires the orthodox Bishops of his domi-
 “ nions to attend the council thus convened,
 “ there to defend *by the Scriptures* the con-
 “ substantiality of the Son with the Father,”

“ against certain Arian opponents. At the
“ time appointed, nearly four hundred Bishops
“ attended this council, from the various pro-
“ vinces of Africa, and from the isles of the
“ Mediterranean sea; at the head of whom
“ stood the venerable Eugenius, Bishop of Car-
“ thage. The public professions of Huneric
“ promised a fair and candid discussion of the
“ divinity of Jesus Christ; but it soon appeared
“ that his private intentions were to compel,
“ by force, the vindicators of that belief to
“ submit to the tenets of Arianism. For when
“ Eugenius, with his Anti-Arian Prelates, en-
“ tered the room of consultation, they found
“ Cyrila, their chief antagonist, seated on a
“ kind of throne, attended by his Arian co-
“ adjutors, and surrounded by armed men;
“ who quickly, instead of waiting to hear the
“ reasonings of their opponents, offered vio-
“ lence to their persons. Convinced by this
“ application of force that no deference would
“ be paid to argument, Eugenius and his Pre-
“ lates withdrew from the council-room; but
“ not without leaving behind them a protest,
“ in which, (among other passages of Scrip-
“ ture), this Verse of St. John is thus especially
“ insisted upon, in vindication of the belief
“ to which they adhered.—*That it may appear*
“ *more clear than the light that the divinity of*

“ *the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one,*
“ *see it proved by the Evangelist St. John, who*
“ *writes thus: there are three which bear record*
“ *in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy*
“ *Spirit, and these Three are one.*”

“ This remarkable fact appears to be, alone,
“ amply decisive as to the originality of the
“ Verse in question. The manner in which it
“ happened seems to carry irresistible conviction with it. It was not a thing done in a
“ corner, a transaction of solitude or obscurity. It passed in the Metropolis of the
“ kingdom, in the court of the reigning prince,
“ in the face of opponents, exasperated by
“ controversy and proud of royal support, and
“ in the presence of the whole congregated
“ African church. Nor is the *time*, when this
“ transaction happened, less powerfully convincing than its manner. Not much more
“ than three centuries had elapsed from the
“ death of St. John, when this solemn appeal
“ was thus made to the authority of This Verse.
“ Had The Verse been forged by Eugenius and
“ his Bishops, all Christian Africa would have
“ exclaimed at once against them. Had it
“ even been considered as of *doubtful original*,
“ their adversaries the *Arians*, thus publicly
“ attacked by this protest, would have loudly
“ challenged the authenticity of The Verse,

“ and would have refused to be in any respect
“ concluded by its evidence. But nothing of
“ this kind intervened. *Cyrila* and his associ-
“ ates received its testimony in sullen silence;
“ and by that silence admitted it to have pro-
“ ceeded from the pen of *St. John*.”

II.

SUCH is Mr. Archdeacon Travis's account of this memorable event; and such are the arguments he deduces from it, in support of the authenticity of The Verse.

The opposers of The Verse remark, 1st, that the unanimous testimony of the four hundred Bishops, by no means proves that The Verse was in all their copies; and 2dly, that, as no dispute took place, but the conference was broken up immediately, the sullen silence of the Arians, is merely an invention of Mr. Travis.

Admitting the utmost weight of these observations, much of the argument deducible from the Narrative in favour of the Authenticity of The Verse, remains for the Adversaries of the verse to answer.

1st. The Catholic Bishops were summoned to a conference; so that they expected,—and it certainly was highly probable,—that their

tenets, and the proofs they should adduce of them, would be strongly attacked:

2d. This circumstance must have made them very cautious of what they inserted in their proposed confession:

3d. Particularly, as all power was in the hands of their angry and watchful Adversaries:

4th. Of course, though they might, and from the nature of the case, must have inserted in the Confession, some things, at which they knew the Arians would cavil, they would not have inserted in it any thing, which, by merely asking a plain question, the Arian could prove to be a palpable falsehood:

5th. Now,—if the Arians could, with truth, have said, to the Catholic Bishops, what the present opposers of The Verse say,—The Verse is in no Greek copy,—it is in no antient Latin copy,—it is in no antient father,—it is in few only of your own copies:—Can you even assert the contrary? What could the Catholic Bishops have replied?—If we are to believe the Adversaries of The Verse, the Bishops could hold out no Greek copy,—no antient Latin copy,—no antient father,—where the Verse was to be found:

6th. On this supposition, therefore,—instantly and on the very spot, the Arians could have shewn the spuriousness of the Verse,

and have convicted the Bishops of a Palpable Falsehood:

7th. And this, at a time and in a situation, when the eyes of all the Christian world were upon them:

8th. Now,—is it probable the Catholic Bishops would have exposed themselves to such immediate and indelible infamy?

9th. Particularly, as it was volunteering it:—for their producing The Verse was a mere voluntary act:—their cause did not depend on it; long treatises had been written by the antient defenders of the Trinity, in which The Verse had not been mentioned:

10th. Consequently,—when the Catholic Bishops produced The Verse, they could have no fear that any such proof positive of its spuriousness could be dashed upon them:

11th. Therefore,—they knew, either that The Verse could not be attacked,—or that, if attacked, they could produce Greek copies, antient Latin copies, and antient fathers in its defence.

12. It is observable that the greatest part of the Catholic Prelates who assisted at this conference, suffered, for their steady adherence to their faith, the severest persecution.—In the language of Mr. Gibbon (ch. 38.), “Three hundred and two of them were banished to

“ different parts of Africa, exposed to the in-
“ sults of their enemies, and carefully deprived
“ of all the temporal and spiritual comforts
“ of life.—Gundamund, the nephew and im-
“ mediate successor of Huneric appeared to
“ emulate and even to surpass the cruelty of his
“ uncle. At length he relented and recalled
“ the Bishops. Thrasimund his brother and im-
“ mediate successor, prohibited by a law, any
“ episcopal ordination; and their disobedience
“ was punished by a second exile of two hun-
“ dred and twenty bishops into Sardinia, where
“ they languished fifteen years.” Surely it is
improbable, that men who could undergo such
persecutions and sufferings for their belief of
the consubstantiality of the Son, would intro-
duce a spurious Verse into His Word.

This appears to me the chain of argument
deducible in favour of the authenticity of The
Verse, from this confession of the African
Bishops.

With great respect, Dear Sir,

I am, your most obliged

Humble Servant,

7th Jan. 1806.

CHARLES BUTLER.

NOTES
TO THE SECOND VOLUME
OF THE
HORÆ BIBLICÆ.

NOTE I. p. 142.

THE characters of the Zend, Pazend and Pahlavi languages, may be found in the work of M. Anquetil du Perron, in the second edition of Dr. Hyde's *Religio Veterum Persarum*, and in the *Commentatio de fatis linguarum Orientalium*, by Jenisch; but, by inspecting the medals preserved in the national museum at Paris, and deciphered by Mr. de Sacy, (*Mémoire sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse*, Paris 1793), or those deposited in the museum of the late Dr. Hunter, and deciphered by Sir Wm. Ouseley, (*Observations on some Medals and Gems bearing inscriptions in the Pahlavi or antient Persick Character*, quarto, London, 1801,) it appears, that the characters given by Hyde and du Perron differ from those of the Sassanian ages of the Persian monarchy. The alphabet of these medals, and of the most antient inscriptions

hitherto explained, have been found to contain but 18 letters, each of which, whether it be used in an initial, medial, or final position, retains the same form; while the Zend alphabet, as given by Mr. Anquetil du Perron, from his manuscripts, has been found to comprise not fewer than 48 characters, the Pazend 29, and the Pahlavi 26: many even of these assume different forms, according to their situations, at the beginning, middle or end of a word; others, according to their positions, receive a short or long, a hard or soft accentuation. These new distinctions seem to be innovations of the original simple alphabet, and are supposed to be engrafted on it within the last five or six centuries. The most antient Persic inscription, hitherto deciphered, does not ascend higher than the second century of our æra; that is the date of a medal which Sir William Ouseley ascribes to Vologeses, the 3d of the Arsacidan or Parthian dynasty: and no intermediate character between the Pahlavi, and the arrow-headed letters, found in the ruins of Persepolis, or the neighbourhood of them, has yet been discovered.

Thus it remains a question whether the works of Zoroaster, were originally written in the Alphabet of the medals, or in that of the Persepolitan inscriptions; but the manuscripts,

from which M. Anquetil du Perron translated his Zend-Avesta, are written in a character totally different from that of the Persepolitan inscriptions; and they are thought to be founded upon, and in many instances to be the same with, that of the Sassanian medals, or pure Pahlavi.—For these remarks, and a valuable communication on the general subject of this article, the writer is indebted to Sir William Ouseley.

NOTE II. p. 168.

“ I MAY take it upon me to pronounce, that
 “ the service has at no period more abounded
 “ with men of cultivated talents, of capacity
 “ for business, and liberal knowledge. Such
 “ studies, independently of their utility, tend,
 “ especially when the pursuit of them is ge-
 “ neral, to diffuse a generosity of sentiment,
 “ and a disdain of the meaner occupations as
 “ are left nearer to the state of uncultivated
 “ nature; and you, Sir, will believe me, when
 “ I assure you, that it is on the virtue, not the
 “ ability of their servants, that the company
 “ must rely for the permanency of their do-
 “ minion.” From Mr. Hastings’s Letter to Mr.
 Smith, prefixed to Mr. Wilkins’s translation of
 the Bhaghat Geeta.

NOTE III. p. 169.

SIR William Jones's orthography is here adopted. Mr. Wilkins and Mr. Halhed write the word "Veds;" Col. Dow, "Bedas;" Col. Polier "Baid;" M. Anquetil du Perron, calls the four Vedas the Rak Beid, Djidir Beid, Sam Beid, and Athrban Beid.

NOTE III. p. 169.

WITH the leave of the Trustees of the British Museum, the reader is presented with a copy of the letter, with which Colonel Polier accompanied his present.

" TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS, Bart. President of the Royal
" Society, &c.

" SIR,

" SINCE the English by their conquests
" and situation have become better acquainted
" with India, and its aborigines—the Hindous
" —the men of science throughout Europe
" have been very anxious of learning some-
" thing certain of those sacred books which
" are the basis of the Hindou religion, and are
" known in India and elsewhere, under the
" name of the *Baids*: many endeavours we
" know have been exerted to procure them,

“ not only on the coast of Coromandel, but
 “ also in several parts of Bengal, and even at
 “ Bennares; but hitherto, those books could
 “ not be had in any of those places, complete
 “ and original, and nothing could be obtained
 “ but various *Shasters* which are only commen-
 “ taries of the *Baids* to expound and explain
 “ such difficult passages as occur in them:—
 “ during a long residence in the upper pro-
 “ vinces of Hindostan, I made it also my busi-
 “ ness, particularly to inquire for those books,
 “ and the more so, as I found that doubts had
 “ arisen in Europe of their very existence:—
 “ my researches at Awd, Lucknow, Agra and
 “ Delhy were perfectly useless, and I could not
 “ in any of those places obtain what I wanted.
 “ Thus disappointed I thought of sending to
 “ Jaypour for them, and was led to it from a
 “ knowledge, that during the persecution the
 “ Hindous suffered throughout India, and which
 “ began in the twelfth year of the reign of Au-
 “ rengzeb—(the persecution was at its height
 “ in the year of the Hegira 1090, or of ours
 “ 1679, on account of the rebellion of Odai-
 “ pour.)—The Rajah of *Anbair*—Ram Sing,
 “ from the important services rendered by his
 “ father the Great Jaysing, and his own at-
 “ tachment to the Emperor—escaped, if not
 “ entirely, at least a great part of that perse-

“ cution, which levelled to the ground all the
 “ Hindou places of worship in the provinces,
 “ and caused the destruction of all the religi-
 “ ous books which could be found belonging
 “ to the Hindous.—In consequence I wrote to
 “ a correspondent at Jaypour, and soon learnt
 “ from him, that the Baidas were to be procured
 “ there, but that no copy could be obtained
 “ from the Brehmans without an order or per-
 “ mission from Pertab Sing, who was then the
 “ Rajah of that place, and is the same Prince
 “ who has so lately been engaged in war with
 “ Saindheah and who is a grandson of that
 “ famous Rajah Tay Sing (Mirzah Rajah) who
 “ built Jaypour close to Anbair, and was the
 “ founder also of the famous observatories at
 “ Jaypour and Delhy, &c. and the editor of
 “ some curious astronomical tables which he
 “ gave to the world under the name of *Mo-*
 “ *ammed Shah*, then on the throne of Delhy.
 “ Having a small knowledge of the Rajah whom
 “ I had seen a few years before, when he paid
 “ his court to *Shah Alum*, then encamped in
 “ the neighbourhood of *Jaypour*, I hesitated
 “ not in applying to him by letter for his per-
 “ mission to have the copy I so much wanted,
 “ and my friend Don Pedro de Silva a worthy
 “ Portuguese physician in the service of the
 “ Rajah, undertook to deliver it, and to for-

ward the application with his solicitations if necessary.

“ *Pertab Sing* on reading the letter, smiling, asked Don Pedro, what use we Europeans could make of their holy books:—on which he represented that it was usual with us to collect and consult all kinds of valuable books, of which we formed in Europe public libraries; and that the *Baids*, though much sought after, could not be met with any where else, and that without his permission the *Brehmans* refused to give a copy; on this, the Rajah immediately issued an order, such as we wanted—and in the course of a year paying the Brehmen transcribers at a certain rate per every hundred *Ashlok* or stanza, I obtained the books which form the subject of this address, and which I had so long wished to possess.

“ On my receiving those books at Lucknow, I still found many among the Europeans, who yet doubted their real authenticity, so strong were the prejudices entertained—from the little success we had hitherto had in procuring them, and from the doubts cast on their very existence by some modern travellers: but the books having been shewn to the late Rajah *Anundram*, a learned *Brehman*, then at Lucknow, and a person well known

“ to many now in England, he immediately re-
 “ cognized them for true and authentic, and
 “ begged of me to leave them some time with
 “ him. At my request he afterwards sepa-
 “ rated them in manageable volumes, as they
 “ now are, and this I thought necessary, the
 “ better to preserve them, for originally they
 “ were in loose sheets; the Hindous in general
 “ seldom or never binding their sacred books,
 “ particularly the *Baids*. But I was obliged to
 “ promise him, which I readily did, they should
 “ not be bound in any kind of leather, but
 “ either in silk or velvet: Rajah *Anundram*
 “ further numbered the pages, and with his
 “ own hand, wrote in Persian characters, for
 “ my information, not only the title page of
 “ each volume, but also of each section and
 “ the number of leaves they severally con-
 “ tain.

“ By this it may be seen how little a de-
 “ pendence is to be placed in the assertions of
 “ those who have represented the *Brehmans*
 “ as very averse to the communication of the
 “ principles of their religion, their mysteries,
 “ and holy books: in truth I have always found
 “ those who were really men of science and
 “ knowledge, very ready to impart and com-
 “ municate what they knew to whoever would
 “ receive it and listen to them, with a view of

“ information, and not merely for the purpose
 “ of turning into ridicule whatever was not
 “ perfectly consonant to our European ideas,
 “ tenets and even prejudices, some of which I
 “ much fear are thought by the Indians to be
 “ full as deserving of ridicule as any thing they
 “ have. At the same time it must be owned
 “ that all the Hindous, the *Brehmans* only ex-
 “ cepted, are forbidden by their religion from
 “ studying and learning the *Baids*, the *K’ha-*
 “ *trys* alone being permitted to hear them read
 “ and expounded: This being the case it will
 “ naturally be asked—how came an European
 “ who is not even of the same faith, to be
 “ favoured with what is denied even to a Hin-
 “ dou? To this the *Brehmans* readily reply—
 “ that being now in the *Cal Jog*, or fourth age,
 “ in which religion is reduced to nought, it
 “ matters not who sees or studies them in these
 “ days of wickedness, since by the decrees of
 “ the Supreme Being it must be so. At the
 “ same time, notwithstanding, I have not ob-
 “ served that the *Baids* are a bit the more ex-
 “ plained to the two lower classes among the
 “ Hindous, the *Bais*, and the *Sonder*.

“ To return from this digression.—Possessed
 “ now of these sacred manuscripts, which I
 “ procured for the sole purpose of communi-
 “ cating to those who would benefit from their

“ perusal, I soon after sent them to Sir William
“ Jones, the only European, then in India I
“ believe, who could read and expound any
“ part of them. From that learned gentle-
“ man, whose knowledge and merits are far
“ above my praise, we may expect to learn in
“ the future memoirs of the Asiatic Society
“ what are his opinions relative to them, the
“ surmises in India, and even among the *Breh-*
“ *mans* about the authenticity, or at least the
“ merits of one of the four *Baids* called the
“ *Atterban*, and in all likelihood some extracts
“ and translations from each; and on that ac-
“ count, I shall beg leave to refer you for any
“ further information, on these books, to one
“ who is so competent to give the public the
“ fullest and the truest.

“ The *Baids* are now in London, and accom-
“ pany this address; the purport of which is,
“ to request of you, Sir, as one of the trustees
“ of the British Museum, to receive and lodge
“ them in that noble and valuable repository,
“ as a small token and tribute of respect and
“ admiration, from one who though not born
“ a natural subject, yet having spent the best
“ part of his life in the service of this country,
“ is really unacquainted with any other. Allow
“ me at the same time, Sir, to take the oppor-
“ tunity thus offered me of expressing the sen-

“ timents of respect I entertain for you, and
 “ which are so justly, and on so many accounts
 “ your due.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Sir,

“ Your most obedient and very

“ Humble Servant,

“ ANTY. POLIER.”

“ London, 20th May, 1789.

“ P. S. I have further to request, that in
 “ depositing the *Baids* in the British Museum,
 “ it may be specified particularly, that either
 “ Sir William Jones now in India, or Mr. Wil-
 “ kins now in London, shall at any time be
 “ allowed to have one of the volumes of the
 “ Baids (at a time) to take home with them,
 “ on their declaration it is for the purpose of
 “ making extracts or translations out of them,
 “ and giving security for its being returned;
 “ and I am led to do this, with the more plea-
 “ sure and readiness, in consideration of what
 “ is due from the public to those gentlemen
 “ for the great trouble they have been at, in
 “ learning so difficult a language as the San-
 “ scrit, and opening by that mean, to the
 “ European world, a new source of knowledge.

“ As above,

“ ANTY. POLIER.”

NOTE V. p. 171.

“ AMONG the Puranas,” says Mr. Hastings in the letter already quoted, “ and of superior
“ estimation to the rest, is ranked *the Mahab-*
“ *harat*.—It contains the genealogy and ge-
“ neral history of the house of Bhaurat, so
“ called from Bhurrut its founder: the epithet
“ Maha, or Great, being prefixed in token of
“ distinction: but its more particular object is
“ to relate the dissensions and wars of the two
“ great collateral branches of it, called Koo-
“ roos and Pandoos; both lineally descended,
“ in the second degree, from Veecheetraveerya,
“ their common ancestor, by their respective
“ fathers Dreetrarashtra and Pandoo.

“ The Koorooos, which indeed is sometimes
“ used as a term comprehending the whole
“ family, but most frequently applied as the
“ patronymic of the elder branch alone, are
“ said to have been one hundred in number, of
“ whom Dooryodun was esteemed the head and
“ representative, even during the life of his
“ father, who was incapacitated by blindness.
“ The sons of Pandoo were five; Yoodhishteer,
“ Bheem, Arjoon, Nekool, and Sehadeo; who,
“ through the artifices of Dooryodun, were
“ banished, by their uncle and guardian Dree-

“ trarashtra, from Hastenapoor, at that time
 “ the seat of government of Hindostan.

“ The exiles, after a series of adventures
 “ worked up with a wonderful fertility of ge-
 “ nius and pomp of language into a thousand
 “ sublime descriptions, returned with a power-
 “ ful army to avenge their wrongs, and assert
 “ their pretensions to the empire in right of
 “ their father: by whom, though the younger
 “ brother, it had been held, while he lived, on
 “ account of the disqualification already men-
 “ tioned of Dreetrarashtra.”

A translation of a valuable extract from the Mahabharat was published, in the year 1785, by Mr. Wilkins, under the title of “The Bhagvatgeetā, or Dialogues of Kreeshna and Arjoon, in eighteen lectures, with notes; translated from the original in the Sanscrit, or antient language of the Brahmans.” An advertisement informs us, that it was published under the authority of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. Mr. Hastings’s letter to Mr. Smith then follows: after it, comes a concise but very instructive preface by the translator, and then the translation with notes. It is executed in that admirable style of severe simplicity, which consummate taste alone can reach.

From the general ignorance of the Sanscrit

language, few are capable of pronouncing on its fidelity; but we have a strong testimony in its favour, in Mr. Halhed's preface to his translation of the Oupnekat, now deposited in the British Museum.

Mr. Hastings's letter does him the greatest honour; it is a noble display of enlarged and virtuous views for the government of a great country: the following extract from it is evidence of his classical taste and judgment.

“ Might I, an unlettered man, venture to
“ prescribe bounds to the latitude of criticism,
“ I should exclude, in estimating the merit of
“ such production, all rules drawn from the
“ antient or modern literature of Europe, all
“ references to such sentiments or manners as
“ are become the standards of propriety for
“ opinion and action in our own modes of life,
“ and equally all appeals to our revealed tenets
“ of religion, and moral duty. I should ex-
“ clude them, as by no means applicable to the
“ language, sentiments, manners, or morality,
“ appertaining to a system of society with
“ which we have been for ages unconnected,
“ and of antiquity preceding even the first
“ efforts of civilization in our own quarter of
“ the globe, which, in respect to the general
“ diffusion and common participation of arts
“ and sciences, may be considered as one com-
“ munity.

“ I would exact from every reader the allowance of obscurity, absurdity, barbarous habits, and a perverted morality. Where the reverse appears, I would have him receive it (to use a familiar phrase) as so much clear gain, and allow it a merit proportioned to the disappointment of a different expectation.

“ In effect, without bespeaking this kind of indulgence, I could hardly venture to persist in my recommendation of this production for public notice.

“ Many passages will be found obscure, many will seem redundant; others will be found clothed with ornaments of fancy unsuited to our taste, and some elevated to a track of sublimity into which our habits of judgment will find it difficult to pursue them; but few which will shock either our religious faith or moral sentiments. Something too must be allowed to the subject itself, which is highly metaphysical, to the extreme difficulty of rendering abstract terms by others exactly corresponding with them in another language, to the arbitrary combination of ideas, in words expressing unsubstantial qualities, and more, to the errors of interpretation.”

NOTE VI. p. 172.

HAVING mentioned this letter to Mr. Wilkins, that able judge of Sanscrit literature pronounced it *omni exceptione major*: it will not suffer in a comparison with Sir William Jones's Discourses on Hindu Literature. *La Porte Ouverte of Abraham Roger*, is one of the most curious works which has yet appeared on the Mythology of the Hindus, and deserves to be more generally known. Mr. Maurice's valuable publications intitle him to the thanks of all oriental scholars: by publishing his translation of the Mahabharat, Mr. Wilkins will confer on them a very great literary favour.—The writer begs leave to mention, in this place, his obligations to Mr. Planta, the principal librarian of the British Museum, for innumerable services rendered him in the course of this publication. To a gentleman more ready to oblige, the care of that literary treasure could not have been consigned: *sic siti lætantur lares*.

NOTE VII. p. 173.

“ I HAVE seen an extract from a foreign
“ work of great literary credit, in which my
“ name is mentioned, with very undeserved

“ applause, for an attempt to introduce the
 “ knowledge of Hindoo literature into the Eu-
 “ ropean world, by forcing or corrupting the
 “ religious consciences of the Pundits, or pro-
 “ fessors of their sacred doctrines. This re-
 “ flection was produced by Mr. Halhed’s trans-
 “ lation of the Poottee, or code of laws, and
 “ is totally devoid of foundation. For myself
 “ I can declare truly, that if the acquisition
 “ could not have been obtained but by such
 “ means as have been supposed, I should never
 “ have sought it. It was contributed both
 “ cheerfully and gratuitously by men of the
 “ most respectable characters for sanctity and
 “ learning in Bengal, who refused to accept
 “ more than the moderate daily subsistence of
 “ one rupee each, during the term that they
 “ were employed on the compilation.” Ex-
 tracted from Mr. Hastings’s letter to Mr. Smith,
 prefixed to Mr. Wilkins’s translation of the
 Bhagvat-Geeta.

THE END.

Butler, Charles

Horae Biblicae being a connected series of notes on the text and literary history of the bibles, or sacred books of the Jews and Christians; and on the bibles or books accounted sacred by the Mahometans, Hindus, Parsees, Chinese, and Scandinavians

Bd.: 2

London 1807

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